MISSIONARY TROPICS

The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries)

Ines G. Županov

Missionary Tropics

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For Ante and Christophe

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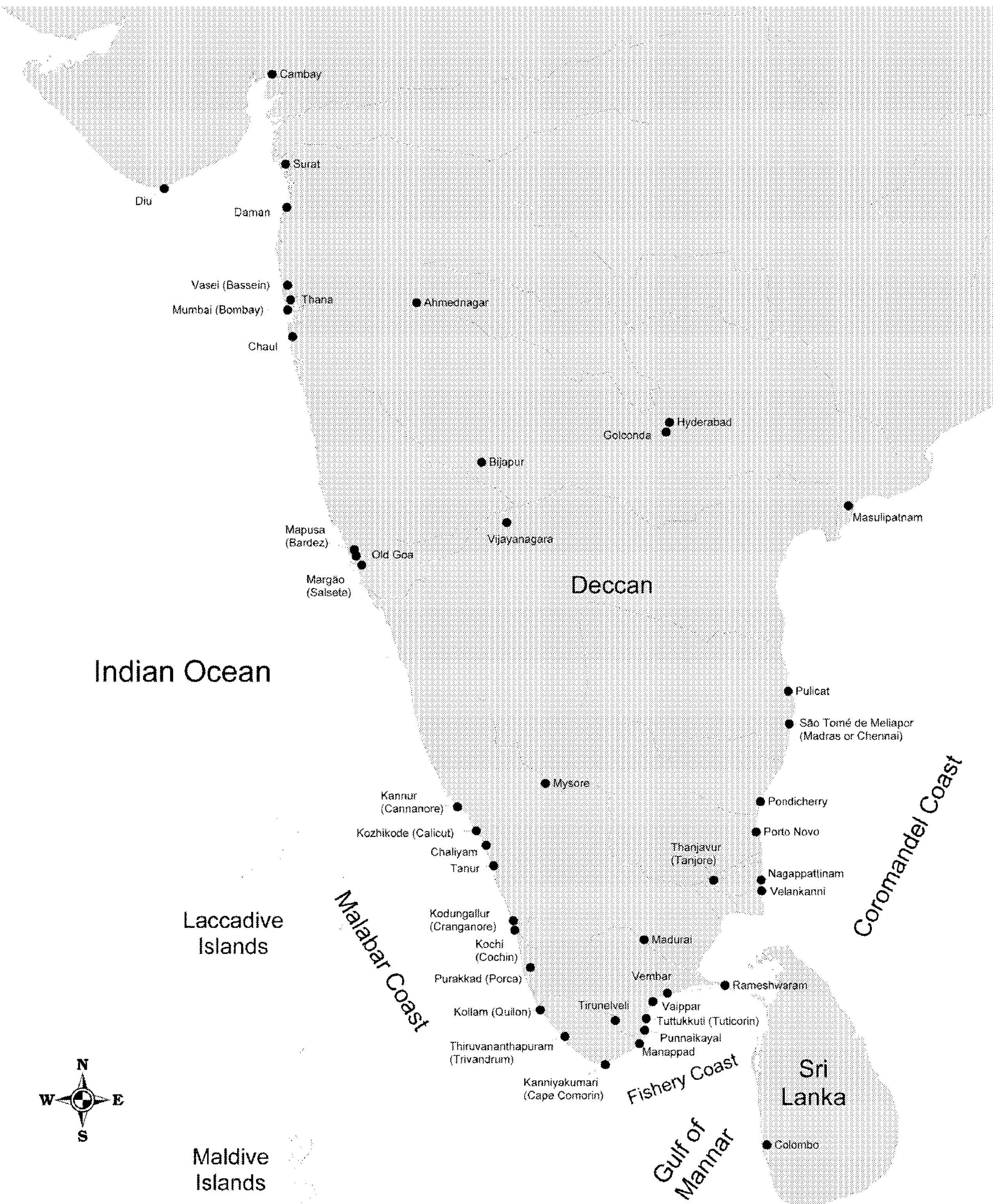
Illustrations

Abbreviations and Note on Transliteration and Spelling

AHSI	*Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu,* Rome
AN/TT	Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (Jesuit Archives)
BNL	Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon
DI	*Documenta Indica*
EX	*Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*
MHSI	*Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*
MI Epp	*Monumenta Ignatiana, Scripta de S. Ignatio*
MX	*Monumenta Xaveriana*
SR	*Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Portugês do Oriente, India*

For Latin, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish words, I have used both contemporary orthography and, when judged necessary, the orthography of the documentary sources.

In principle, Tamil words (names, places, and concepts) are transliterated according to the system used in the Madras University Tamil Lexicon. The exceptions to this rule are (1) commonly accepted forms in English usage and (2) transcription into Portuguese, Italian, and Latin found in the primary sources.



Map of southern India (sixteenth century)


Chapora
Mapusa
Bardez
Chorão
Mandovi
Divar
Candolim
Velha Goa (Old Goa)
Aguada Fort
Reis Magos
Panjim
Ribandar
Ilhas (Tiswadi)
Santana
Shanta Durga Temple
Agassaim
Mormugão Bay
Zuari
Ponda
Mormugão
Verna
Rachol
Salsete
Indian
Ocean
Chandor
Margão
Colva
Sanguem
Quepem
Assolna
Ambelim
Cuncolim
Velim
Cape Rama
N
W
E
S

Map of Goa

Introduction

Cartography of Jesuit Early Modernity in India

Tropics refers in this book to two particular spaces: a geographical space—India and the Indian Ocean—and a metaphorical space in which texts about India bring home to Europe a sense, sensibility, and knowledge of what lies out there.[1] *Tropics* is also used in this book as a metaphor for time, that is, for movement, change, and turning to or turning away from established routines and practices. Finally, the term may also help us think about the formation of new identities that mushroomed on the frontier between the Portuguese Indian world and the vast "gentile" and "infidel" subcontinent. In fact, the Portuguese themselves already established the connection between tropical climate and the oversensual bodies and minds of the Indians.[2]

The tropical world in my book, whether metaphorical, textual, or geographical, consists of people, commodities, and ideas in motion, circulating in the sixteenth century from one part of the globe to another and back with unprecedented speed and unimaginable consequences. How these multiple "mobilites" changed the ecological, cultural, linguistic, social, and economic face of the earth in the long run has been at the heart of a number of studies falling roughly under disciplinary titles such as *world history, the age of discovery,* and *area studies.* None of these disciplinary approaches, however, has provided a satisfying framework for approaching religious mobility beyond narratives of conversion and histories of particular missions. Sociological and anthropological literature may be helpful at this point, although it often underestimates historical dimension and context. In addition, there is a crucial question of sources. Historians are condemned to rely mostly on the archival jetsam and flotsam, and when it comes to writing a history of a radical religious transformation such as conversion, the sources may turn into demons of imagination and fantasy. The historical sources used in this book may also be partly demons of imagination and wishful thinking, but they are

no less reliable than a bill of lading of a transcontinental Portuguese carrack on its way to Mozambique or a list of drugs to be bought for the Royal Hospital in Goa.

My approach to religious encounters in India during the sixteenth century between the most mobile and the most literate religious specialists—the Jesuit missionaries—and their various local converts and interlocutors can be provisionally called *cultural cartography.* By attentively reading documents produced by the Jesuits and other Catholic Europeans in and about the Indian peninsula, I located Jesuit cultural itineraries under the royal patronage (*padroado*) of the Portuguese and Spanish monarchies. The panorama thus pieced together by way of cultural cartography may not be exhaustive, but it is representative.

Why study Jesuit cultural itineraries and not Franciscan, Augustinian, Dominican, or those of other Catholic religious specialists? The reasons are many, but the most decisive is that the Jesuit historical sources, preserved mostly in the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome, provide a documentary feast for historians. In fact, Jesuit studies have recently become one of the fastest-growing interdisciplinary fields within the "federation" of early modern history.

Jesuit missionary history is far from a new historical field. It started with a rich tradition of hagiographic vitae and mission chronicles written from the sixteenth century on. Documents and details abound more than for any other early modern missionary order. With the purpose of self-celebration, most of the Jesuit historiographies, besides being either polemical or edifying, have always been unabashedly partisan. A decisive turning point in terms of methodology and genre of history writing had to wait until the twentieth century, when a number of Jesuit historians produced massive and mostly extremely useful scholarship that can be classified in three historiographical formats: (1) the edition and publication of documents that run into hundreds of volumes, (2) meticulously pieced-together national histories, and (3) monographic portrayals of specific Jesuit institutions or personalities. Joseph Wicki, Georg Schurhammer, António Serafim Leite, Francisco Rodrigues, and many others were the giants in this larger-than-life project of collecting, editing, translating, and compressing the archives. However, while these historians prescribed and carefully obeyed the formality of these oeuvres—to inverse Michel de Certeau's famous shortcut—due to a "mobility hidden inside the system," the content of some of the histories, especially of those that one might call *minority histories,* migrated

back into the hagiographies.[3] Apologetic scholarship of this kind is unfortunately always dangerously close to falsification. For example, Schurhammer's masterpiece biography of Francis Xavier appears on first glance to be an objective historical narrative. However, as one plunges into its four volumes with thousands of extensive footnotes, it becomes clear that the narrative itself is a sort of apotheosis of this saint's life.[4]

The late twentieth century saw a sudden burst, both quantitative and especially qualitative, in Jesuit historiography. Under the banner of *disenclosure* (*désenclavement*), a group of French historians combined their efforts to open up Jesuit history to essentially secular topics in order to project it in capital letters onto the mainstream historiographical checkerboard.[5] Simultaneously, across the Atlantic, senior historians like John O'Malley and Dauril Alden and their successor Gauvin Bailey produced synthetic and secular works along the lines of a grand tradition of the older generation of the Jesuit historians, like Schurhammer. In their footsteps, younger historians who have yet to publish their first books, like Liam Brockey, are closer in their approach and interests to the trends set up and followed by the European historians. The order of the day is, therefore, a more cultural approach informed by anthropological reflection in the late twentieth-century style combined with critical reading in postcolonial studies and inspired by the cultural analysis of the texts developed in the work of Michel de Certeau.

There is another kind of enclosure that is yet to be properly opened. What I have in mind is the invisible but concrete line that divides Jesuit history into European and non-European. Moreover, with a sudden blooming of Jesuit studies, European mainstream historiography increasingly celebrates its own tradition and achievements, both as historiography and as history. All major epistemological moves, according to this view, originated in interaction between Rome and national peripheries (Spanish, French, Portuguese, Italian, etc.). The crudest argument is that Ignatius of Loyola wrote all the founding documents in Rome and that just about everything that made a Jesuit a Jesuit emanated from the General Curia. And, predictably, in the same centripetal movement, the responses and everything else returned to Rome and were reprocessed there at one point or another. In this scheme of things, Rome became the center of calculation, while the rest of the Jesuit world was a series of peripheral laboratories.[6]

From within national historiographies, the centrality of Rome is

amply questioned, but rarely the centrality of Europe as the historical cradle of early modernity, whose creation is attributed to Jesuit protoscientific practices. Without first trying to "provincialize" Europe, it might be more helpful to recenter and reinscribe Jesuit territories beyond Europe around and in a differently conceived historical world cartography.[7] It should be drawn as a polycentric, gridlike space on which, at different periods and due to willed or contingent events in the Jesuit world, different cultural and geographic sites suddenly gained in importance and visibility. Thus, the cutting edge protoscientific research or innovative social practice can appear far away from Europe, at the edge of the world.[8] Since the map in question has not yet been established, we still tend to proceed to draw our conclusions along the convenient Eurocentric path.

The historiography of the Indian Jesuit missions is one of the most neglected fields in Jesuit studies. In spite of intersecting in a significant way with the historiographies of early modern Europe and modern Indian history, it was never considered a fashionable line of research.[9] The relative absence of interest shown by non-Jesuit historians is not surprising. To those specialists whose research centered mainly in or around Europe, including a bit of shopping in or borrowing from the field of European "discoveries" and commercial enterprises of European companies (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries), the field of the Indian mission and what remains of it physically and culturally was embarrassingly unsuccessful, politically naïve, and backward. Discontinued by the order of the Portuguese crown and Rome in the latter part of the eighteenth century, subsequently covered with a lush tropical growth of local superstition, or captured by evangelicals in later centuries, Jesuit mission territories are at times almost untraceable. On the other hand, the large majority of historians of modern India (1500–1947) have consistently dismissed the Portuguese and other European presence on the continent as unimportant in the larger picture, inhabited by British colonialism/imperialism.[10]

The poverty and haphazard nature of the historiography of the Jesuit missions in India, especially compared with that of other major Asian missions such as those to Japan and China, posed and still pose two problems to those historians imprudent enough to cross into the field. The first is methodology; the second is language, or rather languages. The languages one would have to muster to encompass the whole missionary territory within the unified field of research are too

many and too different. They require time and intellectual investment almost equal to that eloquently complained about by the Jesuit missionaries themselves.

The question of methodology is, first of all, a question of an Archimedean standpoint. Should one use the lever to lift the many layers of the history of the Jesuit mission in India by standing firmly on Eurocentric and missiological ground? Can one employ the lever while standing on Indian and "Indological" ground? Choosing one or the other is reductionism; choosing both is difficult, if not impossible. Second, a historian has to decide nolens volens who the principal actors in his or her history are: the Jesuits, the converts, or their local enemies. Even these social categories can be divided into subcategories of elite and commoners. If one combines these various methodological choices with the choice of Indian languages—Persian, Konkani, Marathi, Malayalam, Tamil, Urdu/Hindi, Gujarati, Telugu, Sanskrit, and so forth—the task appears both gigantic and epistemologically demanding.

As a preliminary cultural cartography of the Jesuit missions in India in the sixteenth century, my account does not cover all the territory, but it does, I hope, build miradors for glancing at the whole landscape.[11] To do so, a certain amount of eclectic borrowing and analytical shortcuts were in order. My own approach, therefore, may resemble a tropical tree with tendrils and branches growing in all directions. Wherever there is an interesting, an exemplary social conflict to unravel, a cultural encounter to document, a linguistic confusion to clear up, or simply a story of failure or success to tell, there is a stitch to add to the early modern Jesuit texture of time in India.

Nicholas Standaert, one of the most learned contemporary (and, incidentally, Jesuit) historians of Christianity in China, recently defined his "descriptive and phenomenological approach" through the image of "texturing a textile." Thus the interaction between the Chinese and the Jesuits was, he said, a complex interweaving of different threads and fibers. In the process some fibers have to be removed or replaced by fragmented threads of many different textiles. "The metaphor of texture allows us to look at what happens to specific fibers, but also to look at the usage, meaning, form and function of the textile as a whole."[12]

Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam conjured up the same image of texturing in their study of early modern political cultures in South India (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) and their understanding of the past.[13] What is textured here is

not merely historical narrative, the most cherished vessel for entrapment of experience, but also and more importantly, as the authors insisted, historical time. The agencies of this temporal texturing, according to the authors, are early modern historians who belonged to the karaṇam culture of village record keepers and accountants in early modern South India. With a grain of irony and a bundle of self-consciousness, and by bending and twisting time, the karaṇams produced narratives following a particular logic of sequence and causation that eludes a linear historiographical reading. British colonial, positivist historiography shunned all genres of karaṇam histories as mythological inventions and therefore not history at all. The people who practiced this literary production and their audience were, the nineteenth-century positivist argument goes, devoid of historical consciousness. The authors' vigorous and rigorous analysis of the texts was intended to debunk just such Eurocentric and teleological assumptions.

With all this in mind, we can, as I do in this book, cast a glance toward the other actors inhabiting the strips of coast who on various occasions interacted in one way or another with the mostly continental elite of the karaṇam histories. Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam already wrote about these elites in their earlier book *Symbols of Substance,* where they focused on the Telugu-speaking Nayakas in the heart of the Tamil country.[14] For the Portuguese and the Jesuit missionaries, these military chieftains "were gentile kings" who were to be converted sooner or later. Thus they were feared, respected, and often likened to the famous gentile kings of the early apostolic times of the primitive church. In Jesuit narratives, such military specialists were, therefore, either potential converts or instruments of missionary martyrdom.

In their histories, the Jesuits were following literary and historical protocols that differed from those used in karaṇam histories—as did their cultural tasks—but they were neither less nor more "mythological" than the *caritramus* and *kaifiyats* (historical texts) of the Telugu kings. They are simply differently mythological.

What kind of textures, if any, can be woven out of fibers containing different cultural mythologies, assumptions, traditions, and dreams? Should one simply shrug one's shoulders and deem the whole enterprise of cultural translation to be inauspicious, as Jacques Gernet's *Chine et christianisme* does, for reasons of conceptual and linguistic "incommensurability"?[15] In India, the context of cultural, religious, and political interaction was very different from that in China, and there was precious

little written by the local literati about or against the missionaries. Therefore, Gernet's formula is impossible to implement in the Jesuit missionary field in India. But, even if it were a viable proposition, it was methodologically unsound from the start.[16] Cultural transmission or cultural translations do not function as a perfect transfusion between two parts. As in the process of translation, so skillfully elucidated by George Steiner, the transfer between source language and receptor language presumes "a penetration" of "a complex aggregate of knowledge, familiarity and re-creative intuition." Even if some "penumbras and margins of failure" continue to persist in the process, it is a good start. It can be negotiated next time around since, in cultural translation in particular, the point cannot be a definitive translation but retranslating as an ongoing process. Jesuit missionary translations—whether into European or Indian languages—set a plethora of linguistic and cultural fibers resonating. Their hybridity bears witness to an unbearably impassioned pursuit of self-effacement. Why so? Well, because, as Steiner and the maverick postcolonial studies academic Homi Bhabha both sensed, translation is replete with desire for the other and thus feeds on and, in the same move, annihilates cognitive and affective discrepancies.[17]

Cultural translation and desire for one another is crucial in all encounters and in particular in the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. These concepts are, however, of limited use for historians. They can serve as evocative cognitive props and psychological shortcuts but do not help trace the Jesuit cultural itineraries that I map in this book. Hence, I proceed instead by listening carefully to the sources and by bringing to light and to discussion those still obscure areas of history (and historiography) in India in which I detected an accelerating sense of cultural mobility. These special spaces where people, things, and ideas moved, collided, or intertwined with the speed and determination of self-conscious historical actors can also be seen as exemplary sites of Jesuit early modernity. A historian of colonial Peru has recently called them sites of "effervescence" that stimulated new methods of approaching both the natural and the social world.[18]

The way the Jesuits acquired, processed, and used such effervescent knowledge, from mathematics to psychology, from shipbuilding to accountancy, from social engineering to pharmacology, for missionary purposes and *ad majorem Dei gloriam* (for the greater glory of God) developed into a most impressive, if in the long run self-defeating, epistemological tool.[19]

The intellectual and emotional discipline, the social and psychological accommodation described and prescribed by Ignatius of Loyola in such founding texts as the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions* and elaborated and elucidated throughout the sixteenth century by Jesuit theologians anchored the members of the Society of Jesus in the field of active social engagement.[20] Confronted with the real and encouraged to weave multiple relations between "us" (Jesuits) and "foreigners" (non-Jesuits), these early modern "religious stockbrokers" were supposed to have their feet on the ground, often in the cultural mud or dust of some unpronounceable geographical spot, and to keep their eyes directed upward to the celestial abode from which uninterrupted mystical and divine inspiration trickled down. A task bigger than life for most mortals.[21]

Tropics as Climate and Metaphor in Portuguese India

When Francis Xavier, already a Jesuit rising star and a future saint of the church, stepped onto the Indian subcontinent in the Portuguese colonial enclave of Goa in 1542, his first discovery was that the whole country was spiritually sick, "subjected to the sin of idolatry," and wearisome (*trabaxosa*) because of the great heat.[22] Historians have rarely seen the topos of the dangers of the tropical climate, repeated over and over in Jesuit letters, as anything but a statement of fact. However, in fact, there was and is more to it. The association of the tropical climate with idolatry worked as an instant bridging method to distinguish and incorporate the foreign into the Catholic frame of references, and it served as the first possible explanation of idolatry. The terms *tropos* in Greek and *tropus* in Latin designate, besides and before their ecological semantic fields, a rhetorical move of "turning," re-turning, and twisting the sense of a word, such as in a metaphor or in similar figures of speech. Thus the Jesuit missionaries, and not only they but all studious and curious European writers scattered around the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, were subjected not only to the geographical tropics but also to the "tropics of discourse."[23]

One of the usual complaints about the tropics was the fertility of nature and of imagination, combined with the opposite effect of excessively rapid (over)growth, aging, decline, and finally rot. Indian women, animals, and plants were all perceived as excelling in beauty and other

"useful" qualities (exchangeable, profitable, comestible, etc.), but at the same time, their value was endlessly uncertain due to corrupted and corrupting tropical airs, according to the generally accepted humoral axioms of the Hippocratic-Galenic medical theory. These same objects of pleasure and trade, the argument went, were also potentially dangerous and poisonous. *Mestiças* or other Asian women married to Portuguese *casados* were under suspicion of feeding their husbands dangerous drugs and substances, such as datura, an otherwise important medication against diarrhea.[24] Corpses of elephants left to rot in the city of Goa, combined with such unhygienic practices as leaving excrement on the rooftops to be cleaned by birds and ants, were held responsible for exuding smells that provoked virulent and contagious epidemics decimating the town population.

In the same way, it was commonly held that the hostile humors of "infidel" or "crypto-Jewish" souls fabricated and disseminated "foul" discourses against the Christian religion. In 1539, a New Christian had the dubious privilege of being burned at the stake in Goa, eleven years before the arrival of the Inquisition.[25] His crime was blasphemy. While one might consider it a trope of individual resistance, the accusations of blasphemy were usually a collective fabrication that emanated in a true moment of panic since blasphemy and epidemic were seen as feeding into each other. In 1543, the year in which cholera decimated the population of Goa, a physician, Jerónimo Dias, was the second New Christian to burn in the "holy fire."[26] Appropriately, Governor Martim Afonso de Sousa, who presided over Dias's trial, supervised in the same year the first dissection for scientific purposes of a choleric corpse.[27] This mortal illness (*passio cholerica*), locally known as *moryxy*, had shrunk the stomach of the deceased to the size of a small "hen's gizzard and wrinkled it as leather put on fire."[28] Using a similar gastric comparison in his *Letter to the People of Israel*, Dom Gaspar de Leão Pereira, the archbishop of Goa, claimed that "nature is satisfied when it eats and drinks, & lacking drink, it becomes dry: just like that, the soul that receives a false doctrine becomes dry."[29]

While pestilence reached the human body through the air, whence the custom of fumigating houses and spaces with incense and sweet-smelling herbs, the false doctrine made its way into the soul by way of the spoken and written word. Thus, in 1557, another Jesuit star of aristocratic Portuguese lineage, Gonçalo de Sylveira (or Silveira), wrought havoc among the New Christian merchant community in Cochin

(Cochim de baixo or Santa Cruz de Cochim), whom he accused of dropping blasphemous messages against the Christian religion into the alms box of the church. The presence of non-Portuguese Jews in Cochim de Cima or Mattancherry, close to the palace of the raja of Cochin, who were well connected throughout the trade world of the Indian Ocean, triggered the suspicion of the apostasy of the Portuguese New Christians.[30] The accused Judaizers were swiftly removed to Goa and then to Lisbon for a proper trial by the Inquisition, against the official opposition of Diogo Alvares Teles, the captain of Cochin, and Francisco Barreto, the governor of Goa, both of whom understood the imminent economic loss involved in such an action. Sylveira wrote an indignant letter to Lisbon pointing out that the purging of the New Christians was necessary because of the "abominations that can be found in the spirits (*espirtos*) of Cochin against Our Lord Jesus Christ, and it is clear that the Jews and the Muslims (*mouros*) who live around us and deal with us deride our religion."[31] The derision (*escárnio*) of the Christian religion was like the foul air of Cochin.

Souls and stomachs were, therefore, in peril in the particular ecological and cultural environment of India, to which Portuguese and other Catholic Europeans came in pursuit of lucrative business, riches, women, pleasure, and, sometimes, knowledge. Reports, official and private, concerning the evil customs—pecuniary greed, concubinage and polygamy, even apostasy—in vogue among the Portuguese in Asia, with or without proposed remedies for the situation, piled up in Lisbon from the early sixteenth century and reached an apogee in the 1560s. The *idade dourada,* the golden age of Portuguese rule, seemed to have been left in the past, according to the critical voices of angry writers, the most articulate and eloquent of whom included Dom Jorge Temudo, the archbishop of Goa, and Diogo do Couto, the historian and the first archivist of the Estado da Índia (the State of India).[32]

Before these ominous voices of defeat became louder and canonized in informal and official correspondence, a different view found its way into a printed work, *Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas he Cousas Medicinais da India* [. . .], written by Garcia da Orta and printed in Goa in 1563. This New Christian physician proposed his own method for surviving in the tropics.[33] In his optimistic and unabashedly secular view, the problem and the key to the solution lay in the body, that is, in adapting individual, male Portuguese bodies to the trying weather and to the pernicious geography of the Torrid Zone. The way to do that was

by collecting information and constituting a body of ethnobotanical knowledge concerning local, Asian *materia medica.* The ingestion of mostly tropical substances combined with selected indigenous medical practices tested and approved by Orta himself was to infuse longevity and virility into the Portuguese corporeal constitution. For this crypto-Jew forced to wear many masks to fend off the suspicion of Judaizing, the body was endlessly adaptable to the exterior environment, and no higher medical or scientific authority was to be trusted than the senses and the experience.

Hence, without actually using the word, the method for surviving in the tropics, or anywhere else, was adaptation to local air, local plants, local customs, and local languages. This is, in fact, what the Portuguese had already been doing, in fits and starts, partially and un-self-consciously both in Asia and in Brazil. By the 1560s, however, the official voices against a too rapid indigenization of the Portuguese in India grew louder. Orta's naturalism, grounded in the dominant medical and biological ideas of his time, had been, though cautiously and ambiguously so, more a critique of Portuguese colonial experience in Asia than a factual description of the situation. To help establish and maintain an Asian tropical empire with perfectly adapted Portuguese men and eventually women as the central protagonists was what Orta proposed to the political and administrative authorities of the Estado da Índia.

Thus, extolling Orta as the first and the most daring proponent of some sort of Lusotropicalist theory *avant la lettre,* as Gilberto Freyre did, is not simply an anachronism but a downright mystification.[34] While the Brazilian sociologist, the founder of this ambitious mid-twentieth-century sociological movement, attributed the superior capacity of adaptation in the tropics to a specifically and exclusively Portuguese "being in the world"—that is, to Portuguese character shaped by a long history of mixing and hybridity of blood and of culture, with Arabs and with Islam—for Garcia da Orta adaptability was a universal human condition based on the humoral constitution of the body and of the world. Nevertheless, Orta's *Colóquios* served Gilberto Freyre to substantiate his own points about the extraordinary geographical and cultural mobility, miscegenation and acclimatability, of the Portuguese in the tropics and to celebrate their successful colonial enterprises in Brazil and in Asia.[35] True enough, cultural and social incorporation was as much Orta's concern as it was Freyre's, but the direction in which this interpenetration between various local factors

and actors was to be carried out is completely opposite. For the Brazilian sociologist, it is Portuguese culture (and blood), strong and plastic as it was, that successfully integrated foreign and local elements. Orta, on the other hand, was surreptitiously smuggling in an entirely different interpretation: that it was out of weakness that the Portuguese were forced to adopt local drugs, food, and certain customs in order to survive. Unraveling Orta's covert theory further, it appears that he clearly saw that it was the Portuguese who were being incorporated and integrated into the larger networks of local Asian medical, economic, social, maritime, and religious markets, not the other way around.

This particular tacit suspicion (and approval) by Orta was denounced after the 1560s. The Portuguese tropical colonies in India were increasingly perceived as having "gone native" in the religious and sociocultural sense. Surrounded with "pagan" and "infidel" territories, the boundaries of tropical Catholicism were forever under siege, or that is how the official discourse justified the measures of internal surveillance and oppression. The juggernaut of the Inquisition was therefore welcomed in 1560 as a prophylactic and surgical instrument of the Portuguese royal padroado designed to restore the purity of faith and blood. Of some 16,176 inquisitorial processes, according to the 1774 inventory, the majority of cases tried by the Holy Office were due to lapses into Hindu religious practices, and their number increased considerably in the eighteenth century.[36] This should not come as a surprise since the territory of Goa, where the Inquisition wielded the strongest authority and influence, was largely inhabited by a population converted to Catholicism from *paganism*—a blanket term for various local religious practices and sects identified as non-Muslim.[37] Many of these punishable practices were connected with healing rituals practiced by most Goanese, from the highest-ranking *fidalgos* (nobles), the viceroy's family included, to the slave converts.[38]

Moreover, from 1563 on, in a series of official instructions and regulations, non-Catholic physicians were banned from Portuguese territory, while the New Christian medical practitioners, under attack by the Inquisition, were increasingly suspected of wanting to poison and kill the Portuguese in a fit of revenge. Orta himself—or rather what was left of him twelve years after his death, that is, his bones—was burned at the stake in 1580, not for his medical ideas but for his crypto-Jewish religious beliefs.

Depending on the nature of the Portuguese official presence in Goa and in other Asian enclaves during the early 1550s, a fundamental change took place in the religious culture of the Estado da Índia. It started with generalized tremors of the overexcited religious fervors that shook the Portuguese metropolitan scene and were subsequently brought to the colonial shores, where they readily fused with the locally generated sense of economic and moral crisis in the mid-sixteenth century. Whether there was an economic crisis in the mid-sixteenth century at all, or to what extent it was merely a temporary financial crunch and unconnected to the much-advertised literature on the decadence and decline of the Portuguese Estado da Índia, is still debated among economic and social historians.[39] One thing is certain: the Jesuit missionaries who arrived in Asia from 1542 on fed on and disseminated the idea of religious crisis and decadence in a most efficient and resounding way. Crisis management was a structural part of Jesuit institutional strategies, as if they followed the precept "if there were no crisis, it would have to be invented."

Effervescent Missions among the Gentiles

Although Jesuits were not the only crisis mongers of the mid-sixteenth century, they had a particular ability to make this into a coherent framework, to make crisis real or hyperreal, and to transform it into a work of art on the pages of their correspondence, histories, and treaties and on the facades and walls of their churches. What we are left with today are various layers—rich in exceptional details, fertile in imagination, tropical in overgrown intertextuality—of connected histories eroded or expanded through endless rewriting, and solidified or diluted into present social relations and material artifacts.[40] The range of Jesuit missionary activities, simultaneously destructive, innovative, conservative, and adaptive, was wide and far-reaching in Asia and particularly in India. In a geographical sense, of course, the Jesuit missions remained tiny specks on the face of this compact but culturally complicated subcontinent.

Closely connected and, to growing Jesuit dismay, associated with Portuguese colonial presence, the mission territories—along the west coast of India from Diu, Daman, Bassein, Thana, and Chaul to Goa and farther south along the Canara and Malabar coasts, and to a much

smaller degree along the Fishery and Coromandel coasts and in the Bay of Bengal—were considered routine enterprises. These solid outposts also served as springboards for the "difficult"—one is almost tempted to call them *effervescent*—Jesuit missions, away from the protected Portuguese or Christianized coastal enclaves to inland territories where Hindu or Muslim (or Jain, for that matter) kings and chieftains ruled and vied with each other for supremacy. Not just any Jesuit was eligible for these special missions, such as to the Mughal or Vijayanagara courts or in Madurai or the exploratory missions to Tibet. Small numbers of Jesuits, usually handpicked in accordance with their academic accomplishments or linguistic proficiency and, according to witnesses, "their ardent desire to suffer," were posted in these politically volatile missions with, as a rule, very slow or meager evangelical success.

In these effervescent Jesuit missions in India, as well as in Japan and China, a new anthropological view of non-Christian religion came into being. At the core of this view was a crucial separation of the religious and the social phenomena. When Christianity itself came to be understood in the same manner, the divorce between theology and social ethics became irrevocable. In the expression coined by Max Weber, "the disenchantment of the world" was, therefore, the result of the simultaneous discoveries in the effervescent Jesuit overseas missions that were the early "laboratories of modernity."[41]

Not all that came out of the Indian missions was meant to be curious and edifying only for the European audience. In India, for a variety of reasons, certain social groups and lineage clusters were undoubtedly attracted to Catholicism and to Jesuit missions. Except in Goa—including the Ilhas, Bardez and the Salsete peninsula—unreflected physical violence was not expedient as a means of conversion and was studiously avoided, if possible. Rather, a new type of corporeal, spiritual, and social discipline working to reorder human relations within an older communal framework appealed, as a rule, to ascending social groups or strata.[42] One of the fascinating conversion stories concerns the Parava pearl-fishing communities in the Gulf of Mannar, evocatively called *Costa da Pescaria*.[43] A fishery of pearls for the Portuguese merchants and a fishery of souls for the Jesuits, this long sandy strip of land from Kanniyakumari to Rameshwaram in the extreme south of India across the sea from Sri Lanka was the first and, in many ways, besides Goa, the most successful Jesuit mission territory in India in the sixteenth century. It was neither a routine nor a difficult mission, but somewhere

in between the two. Formally initiated as a special deal cut between the Portuguese and the Paravas—a chance to get their hands on the lucrative pearl fishing for the former, and, for the latter, military protection from their local rivals, such as the Labbai pearl divers and the Maraikkayar pearl traders, both of whom were conveniently Muslim and thus identified by the Portuguese as perennial enemies—the Jesuit mission was established with the arrival of Francis Xavier in 1544.

The first Jesuit tool for the conversion of the "pagans" on their own ground and in their own language, that is, without the direct help of the Portuguese secular arm, was put in place in the mission among the Paravas, all the while comparing notes with other early Jesuit implantations within the Portuguese colonial cities and "fortresses," such as the College of St. Paul in Goa and residences-cum-colleges in Kollam, Hurmuz, Melaka, Bassein, and São Thomé de Meliapor. The most favorable set of circumstances, based on the relative weakness of each of the major actors in the story, contributed to the establishment of a lasting Catholic community. On the one hand, the Paravas continued to require Portuguese military backing, in spite of their resentment of certain violent practices that turned at times against their own interests. On the other hand, the Portuguese never fully controlled the region, and their military presence was sporadic in time and scattered in space. In addition, both of the partners were able to fend off the threat (if there really was one) of the Muslim pearl fishers and traders, who remained in charge of the northern part of the Fishery Coast.

Without overwhelming Portuguese authority, and yet with the willing converts, the Jesuits were in a particular position to test both their persuasive capacity and their spiritual jurisdiction. Through the command of Tamil, which they transformed into a privileged medium of Christianization—at the expense of Portuguese and Latin, considered the key to understanding the Christian message, at least in the beginning in Goa and other Portuguese towns—the Jesuits created a tailor-made Catholicism specifically matching Parava social and cultural needs, such as the reorganization of the different lineages into a full-fledged caste structure. Various printed works in Tamil, for example the *Confessionairo* and the *Flos sanctorum,* bear eloquent witness to the multiple linguistic negotiations that took place between the Paravas' sense of what the new religion could do for them and the hermeneutic intuitions of the Jesuits.[44]

By the close of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century,

the Jesuit literary persuasion machine in various Asian languages, often equated with the strategy of accommodation first elaborated by Alessandro Valignano for the Japanese and then by his disciple Matteo Ricci for the Chinese mission, was only an extension of these first insights into the alchemy of "true" conversion. There are several reasons why this accommodationist strategy came to be associated with the Far East and not with India, in spite of Roberto Nobili's famous experiment.[45] But one detail, at first sight insignificant, may hold a grain of explanation. From Xavier to Valignano, the Jesuits were all convinced that the Japanese mission was "cold" and the people were "white" and thus, the argument goes, "endowed with the light of reason."[46] India, on the contrary, was seen as a "hot" land populated by "blacks," roaming around "naked," most of whom lived according to their "passions" rather than reason.[47] At this point in Jesuit and in Portuguese descriptions of the land and people they encountered in the Orient, of course, ecology, race, psychology, and religion were inextricably braided together, to the point of serving as general and permutable metaphors of undistinguishable otherness. These descriptions, however, were being rapidly divested of fantasy, although the marvelous and wishful thinking were much slower to vanish.

Forced to elaborate and write down their experiences systematically and in minute detail so that they could be easily understood and possibly transmitted further as strategic information, the Jesuits employed all their senses and their intellectual (scholastic or commonsense) abilities to analyze foreign phenomena.[48] Thus, the individual Jesuit experience of the ecological shock represented by India turned into a literary subtopos in a larger narrative of pilgrimage and separation from the European (Catholic) *oikoumene*. The passage to India was elegantly developed in Jesuit correspondence into an unavoidable tripartite narrative structure. The journey itself, with storms, rough seas, illness, and basic human misery, reminded the travelers of their own mortality. Upon arrival, almost as a rule, the newcomers discovered the unbearable monsoon heat and humidity, also considered a major health hazard. Thus, once they touched land, high fever or some such virulent ailment often literally swept them off of their feet. They did not yet feel that the soil "rejected them," as E. M. Forster expressed his own and British ambiguous feelings about tropical colonialism. For the Jesuits, the initial suffering was a divine ordeal and a test of their bodily and spiritual strength to be employed in the future "for the greater glory of God."

The harsher the heat of the tropics, the stronger the Jesuit will, determination, and, surely, the divine grace bestowed to survive, only to suffer more, according to the famous Ignatian formula. It is when ecology slips into culture that the narrative of pilgrimage comes to its apogee and conclusion. Consequently, climate and environment plunged into a discursive twilight zone, while paganism resurfaced in all its demonic, monstrous, yet splendid textuality. From the 1570s until the middle of the seventeenth century, priority in the Jesuit missionary tasks in India was given to containing the non-Christian religious practices through deep and thick description and understanding of their innermost impulses and mechanisms. While the Indian pagans continued to be "black," they kept on acquiring layers of new ethnographic outfits, such as the taxonomy of caste distinctions accompanied by founding myths of the lineages inhabiting a given region. Still mostly considered to be excessively given to passions, the Brahmans and various other social groups of literati were perceived as lacking nothing in terms of the "light of natural reason," in spite of their gentility. In the course of time, even color lightened for some of them. Thus, Afonso Pacheco wrote at the end of 1577 that the Brahmans of Goa were "important people, whiter and well-proportioned, ingenious and smart."[49] By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Brahmans would become the *docti,* the learned men, who controlled their bodies through vegetarianism, sexual continence, and social exclusion and who were experts in "cold," logical reasoning.

The devilish Hindu practices and superstitions that appalled (and probably frightened) the early missionaries wherever they chanced to witness their mise-en-scène and efficiency continued to haunt Jesuit correspondence, but they had been considerably diluted and cooled off by a proper analysis of their "essential" parts and structures, developed and hotly debated among the Jesuits in the course of the early seventeenth century. And while, as Manuel (or Emmanuel) de Morais vividly put it in 1547, the unbearable heat continued to "bake alive" the Jesuit fathers who walked long distances on their pastoral visits along the Fishery Coast, their interest in the veritable bestiary of pagan "saints," such as "clay horses, clay buffaloes, stone men and the figures of stone cobras, peacocks and crows," gave way to more sophisticated, though to the Jesuit mind equally enervating, theological ideas.[50] At first sight, this paganism appeared to the Jesuits to be an unpredictable mumbo-jumbo of every kind of brutality (*brutalidade*), which in the sixteenth-century

meant pertaining to the nature of an unreasonable animal and worthy of Ambroise Paré's natural monsters, which were defined as products of different climates and of different humoral deficiencies at the moment of conception. At the same time, the Jesuits did their best to distill vestiges of the memory of the Gospel even from this kind of abominable paganism.[51]

Not all agreed on what this memory actually contained or to what extent the contamination with paganism was successful as a result of the power of persuasion exercised over simple minds by the "wicked" Brahman priests, who knew the truth but hid it for their own temporal profit and authority. Those Jesuits who worked primarily in the difficult missions and were only vaguely involved in the Portuguese colonial enterprise, like those who resided in Goa and in other major Jesuit college towns in the Estado da Índia, opted for an interpretation of paganism as a cultural and social phenomenon. The notion of religion, in this case non-Christian religion, shrank to an almost invisible shape, losing even its demonic and superstitious label. Emptied of religion, but not of religious sensitivity and yearning, paganism was to be charged with the true message and word of God. This is, in a nutshell, the basic theological justification developed by Roberto Nobili for his method of accommodation applied in the Madurai Mission.[52] The exterior facade of the Catholicism Nobili defended was permitted to acquire a vertiginous degree of resemblance with South Indian Brahmanism (*Bramanismo*)—a word coined by Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso, Nobili's nemesis in the mission—but also remained open to other types of non-Christian theology.

Through this small theological opening, shaped and conditioned by the long-established and living tradition of the sacred and religious practices that would only later come under the heading *Hinduism*,[53] the indigenized or "tropical Catholicism" sent its roots firmly into the ground like a banyan tree, an overused but inexhaustibly precise simile.[54] The "tropicality" of Indian Catholicism is more of a metaphorical ruse or a hieroglyphic abbreviation than an analytical or methodological concept with promptly revealed subcategories and rigorous classification of traits and facts. On the most basic, visual level, tropicality is what initially comes to mind when one sees for the first time the exterior of the churches and chapels that dot the Indian landscape. Whitewashed after the monsoon or stained, moldy, and decrepit before the next one, they appear by turns strangely majestic and vulnerable.

To ensure that the building survives from one season to another is a special art in the tropics, and not all do. Only those that continue to draw on the sacred energy of the site, identified long before as the crossroads between the divine and the human, continue to thrive. If the sacred vacates the site, which happens quite often, the structure is left without much ado to fall to ruin and ultimately disappears in nature. Tropicality in the interior of the prayer halls can be detected on pulpits decorated with local mythological creatures, such as snakelike Nagas, and on ornamental stucco or woodwork, where Christian saints are smeared with sandalwood paste and yellow and red powder and garlanded or strewn with flowers (figs. 1a–1d). The freestanding crosses (*kurucati*) in front of the churches, along or in the middle of streets and in graveyards, are usually dark and shiny, smelling of rancid *ghee* (purified butter), with which the devotees anoint themselves according to their own calendar of auspicious days or for the purpose of some urgent intercession.

Certainly, the imposing basilica, the Bom Jesus in Old Goa, "the Rome of the East," is not so different from the Il Gesù in "the eternal city," at least not in its architectural shell (fig. 2). The churches in Tamilnad, on the other hand, especially small side chapels from Uvari on the Fishery Coast to Kayatar, to Kamanayakenpatti, to Elankurichi, to Velankanni, and up to Chennai in the north, could be mistaken by an inexpert eye for unorthodox temples. And, inversely, for similar reasons of religious adaptation, the Shantadurga temple in Ponda, close to Goa, can equally be mistaken for a church.[55]

Indian Catholic Tropicality versus Lusotropicalism, Métissage, and Inculturation

Still in search of a proper word to encapsulate the religious encounter in the sixteenth century and a continuous coexistence of Catholic frames with or within a plethora of supernatural brinkmanship, sacred power sites, and learned and popular or intermediary religious sedimentation on the Indian peninsula, I believe that *tropicality* is a better suited anthropological term than others, such as *acculturation,* or the newest on the block, such as *inculturation* and *métissage.* It is, however, important not to confound it with Gilberto Freyre's *Lusotropicalism,* although his stimulating but completely wrong and politically dubious

analysis of the Portuguese national character and its suitability to encounter (and conquer) other peoples added spice to sociological and historical imagination. If Portuguese merchants, royal officials, and ecclesiastics adapted rapidly (if at all) to the difficult climate and learned how to deal with the overpowering cultures surrounding them in Asia, partly by adapting to and partly by fencing themselves off from them, it was more because they had no other choice and simply managed to control their weakness, rather than because of the plasticity and compositeness of their character. And yet Freyre's acclamation of hybridity, although somewhat selective since he excluded Jewishness as a positive element in the Portuguese national essence, might at times appear fashionable and fit into contemporary debates.

Tropicalism in India is not solely, and is only accidentally, Lusitanian. It is used here to represent a colonial situation—bound to Christianization by the umbilical cord—quite different from the one that defined the history of Brazil, where the Portuguese established settler communities and in the long run a separate nation-state. The shock of the spiritual conquest, the cultural clash, and the colonization of and domination over indigenous imagination, even if willed by the missionary colonizer, followed multiple and quite different scenarios on the Indian subcontinent, sometimes through destructive physical and symbolic violence, but always on a scale that was too small and too ineffective in the larger, regional context. Zooming closer to ground level, social, cultural, and religious changes, as well as showcasing cruelties and juridical impositions, did affect the destinies of the local communities. However, one characteristic of tropical Catholicism is that it defies a unified analytical approach, even for one and the same region. It is as if the soil in which it was planted, a soil with a long and complicated history and already fertile with layers of seeds of other sacred landscapes and cultural configurations, deformed at every step the "young vineyard of the Lord," turning it into a garden of bitter "mustard seeds." Students of Jesuit missionary history know these and similar complaints from Jesuit correspondents all too well.

Yet recently, from another missionary-colonial-cultural field, Mexico, studied in recent decades by a number of talented historians of various academic and political colors and persuasions, came an invitation to revisit the commonplace historiographical folds and frills and to denounce terms such as the *acculturation, conquest, purity,* and *authenticity* of pre-Columbian cultures and many other sacred truths enshrined

in not-so-old cultural and postcolonial studies.[56] Serge Gruzinski employed vigorously and with almost proselytizing zeal words like *métissage* and *le monde mêlé,* which resist elegant and evocative translation in English but which, for the time being, do sound right in French. His early, most stimulating work had some of its intellectual roots in a more anthropological, acculturalist idiom.[57] From the world of conquistadors and the conquered, he transported us to an uncertain, contingent, and porous world of give and take, of random or planned but always transformative violence, of cultural impurity and admixtures on all levels of words and images.[58] In focusing on the process of métissage under the auspices of the "Catholic monarchy" of the Hapsburgs, Gruzinski logically arrived at the point where the distinction between local and global becomes blurred and epistemologically useless.[59]

For the historians of the Portuguese colonial and Jesuit missionary presence in India, the globalizing effects of the Catholic monarchy are somewhat less immediately obvious. Certainly, multiple cultural borrowings across political and religious boundaries and mixing up things, words, and blood were not unusual, but on a much smaller scale and confined to frames defined by non-Portuguese actors, from the kings and small chieftains of Muslim Bijapur to the Hindu Vijayanagara, from the Nayaks of Madurai to the minor kings of Kerala, from Mughal emperors to sea pirates. In a word, the tentacles of the Catholic monarchy remained a peripheral, mostly coastal phenomenon in India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Continental and land-oriented political structures on the subcontinent configured their own history without necessarily taking hints from a European (Iberian) pattern. Sanjay Subrahmanyam's term *connected histories* might help better in composing an ever-changing puzzle of early modern political alliances, structures, and contacts. A view from afar and from a rooftop may positively identify the movement of the entities on the ground, but it cannot predict the exact consequences of this process. Applied to social, cultural, and religious aggregates with previously acquired degrees of cohesion, the outcome, that is, its local manifestation, is even more uncertain.[60] Notwithstanding the number of written documents that have been produced, the history of the Portuguese colonial enterprise in India still appears marginal in terms of the long-term dynamics of change and development and compared, for example, with the importance of the Mughal and British empires.

Christianization was perhaps the most comprehensive intentional

effort at globalization by the early modern Portuguese Estado da Índia and the Catholic monarchy, although the missionaries in charge of it were far from being perfect partners in the game. Unlike in the Latin American context—except in a few special places like Goa, where Portuguese colonial life displayed morphological similarities in such areas as urban planning, religious and royal ceremonies, and production of art and artifacts—the missions in India were much more uncertain than, say, Salvador de Bahia, Merida, or Lima and more often than not dangerous territorial extensions. Due to the weak Portuguese presence, occidentalization never stood a chance there. This is why Roberto Nobili was able to present "his" religion and his own pedigree and nationality as completely disconnected from the Portuguese. Almost from the start of the mission on the Fishery Coast, not only did Francis Xavier and his local *línguas* or *topazes* (interpreters) translate Christian prayers into Tamil but an immediate reflection on what by the end of the century would be called *accommodation* came to be seen as an urgent task. At times, however, newcomers in the field who did not have an opportunity or the desire to experience the "dangerous" Jesuit mission territory, like the learned António Gomes in the late 1540s, behaved in a way judged reckless and insensitive to a particular local situation.[61] Non-Portuguese, in particular, often voiced an accusation of Portuguese nationalism in the Jesuit work-in-progress mission reports.

Generally, in fact, the Jesuits themselves exercised something of an autocensure of their own Euro- and ethnocentricity, lending an attentive ear (and eye) to their converts' responses. The limits of adaptation were thus stretched further, especially when no other European witnesses were there to voice their complaints. Finally, in the course of the seventeenth and, even more so, eighteenth century, protests grew louder from the rival missionary orders and from within Jesuit ranks as well. Even the justification of *accommodatio* as a temporary conversion strategy, a sort of acclimatization garden for the new plants in the Lord's vineyard, became suspect. The denouement of the Malabar and the Chinese rites controversies in the eighteenth century put a stop to these experiments because the grafting of Christianity onto powerful local religious traditions not only had very limited success but also threatened to produce irreversible effects of contamination—or at least this was feared. Finally, the boundary between paganism and Christianity had to be clearly signaled. Hence, the reason I prefer the metaphor of tropicality to métissage is in its implied sense of a turning—actually turning back into

something that was already there before the arrival of Christianity. In addition, métissage is closely connected with the process of globalization, while the concept of tropicality privileges localization.

From a rather different milieu, that of the Catholic theologians and thinkers of the post-Vatican II era, came another, in many ways politically charged, concept—*inculturation.* It is announced as a prescription rather than a description of the evangelical process. The term itself was coined in the 1960s, and in 1977 it appeared for the first time in a papal document voicing the Vatican's concerns about bridging the gap between religion and culture.[62] The question was how to incarnate the Christian message in different sociocultural milieus. This is, obviously, a Jesuit method of accommodation revisited, but with contemporary anthropological hindsight. Reminiscent of Nobili's method in Madurai and Ricci's in China, inculturation is supposed to peel off all "foreign" characteristics, values, and expressions from the pure Christian message, which is then to be dressed in local colors. To do this, again—just like the early seventeenth-century Jesuit missionaries—local religious and literary traditions were to be studied and were to provide the blueprint for the indigenized church. Moreover, inspired by Vatican II and its insistence on interreligious dialogue, the third world Catholic theologians who embraced inculturation enthusiastically went in search of "the seeds of good" or the seeds of the Word contained in other religions.[63] But the problem is that to incarnate Christianity—which is based on a universal and atemporal dogma—in a particular historical and local culture is both logically and sociologically complicated, if not impossible. In fact, the Incarnation in the Christian tradition is no less than a miracle.

As early as the 1990s, Rome came to consider the radical Indian theologians, with their strong stand on inculturation and dialogue, dangerous. Like Nobili before them, they were accused of religious relativism, and their actions were judged devastating from the point of view of evangelization. But unlike in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when no Indians were admitted to the Society of Jesus, today there are very few European Jesuits in India.[64] The inculturation movement can thus even be seen as carrying the seeds of Indian "nationalism," even though the Hindu nationalist extreme right today increasingly brands Indian Christians of all denominations as foreign elements.[65] On the other hand, even from within the same theological family, there can hardly be consensus on which Indian religious and cultural tradition to adopt as a

blueprint for inculturated Christianity: The Brahmanic, elite, Sanskritic culture preferred by Nobili? Giuseppe Beschi's Tamil literary culture? Dalit religious tradition? These are difficult choices and are certain to displease just about everybody.

Catholic theological ideas and theologians' intentions in the seventeenth century, as well as today, are often too lofty for and foreign to the common believers and churchgoers. On the ground level, in village India, the Christian religious landscape continues to take unusual and unorthodox shapes. From Jesuit letters describing their various mission fields in South India until 1773, we can get a glimpse of the process of turning the Virgin Mary into a manifestation of the goddess. Called, for example, Shakti (generic female power), Durga, Kali, and Mariyamman, the goddess is one of the most powerful divine beings in the South Indian sacred landscape.[66] Jesuit Marian devotional practices were, therefore, easily fused with the older system of propitiation of this vengeful, merciful, and thaumaturgic goddess, regarded as both inflicting illness and curing it. Teaching their converts to distinguish the Immaculate and affable Mary from the blood-drenched Durga was a mind-boggling task for the missionaries. Their intention was not to fuse the two, but neither could they separate them altogether since the adaptationist palimpsest strategy, as proposed by Nobili, targeted alternately either the signifier or the signified. Even if Nobili, Balthazar da Costa, and many other missionaries wrote numerous treatises in Tamil, Telugu, and Sanskrit explaining in detail how and why the goddess had nothing to do with the Virgin Mary, they allowed, or rather they did not prevent their converts from interpreting for themselves, these difficult divine (or demonic) relationships (figs. 3a and 3b). That the Shakti grew over Mary, even gave her her name, is attested in contemporary anthropological research on Marian health sanctuaries in Tamil Nadu, which is visited daily by devotees and pilgrims of all major religions in India—Catholic, Hindu, and Muslim.[67]

Tropical Catholicism

Therefore, to chisel out an appropriate approach to the Christianization of India as a cultural and political agent of restructuring under the Portuguese royal padroado, the concepts of métissage and inculturation are both of only limited use. The first was developed to explain a dif-

ferent historical configuration, and the second is no more than a modernized extension of accommodation and better suits the partisan and prescriptive pursuits of contemporary Catholic theologians. Nor is it helpful to focus on "subaltern" resistance or negotiation, as has been in vogue for more than a decade in Indian studies and refers primarily to British colonialism and the forms of domination related to it.[68] Without a full-fledged colonial power behind the program of Christianization, it is not possible to constitute a proper subaltern object of study or to identify counterhegemonic narratives. In addition, the indeterminacy of conversion and especially shifts in religious consciousness are not an issue in a situation in which statehood and nationhood have not yet been elevated to the pedestal of the sacred societal paradigms.[69]

With all these caveats and hesitations in mind, the metaphor of *troping* (*tropics, tropicality*) appears to be the most appropriate analytical and descriptive tool for the process of conversion to Christianity in India during the pre-British colonial period. Just as in the literary theory and rhetoric from which it originated, a trope generates a movement, a flight from something literal to something other than itself. Intended as carriers of uniformity and facts, tropes endlessly convert meanings and relations of things. The desired Christian identity in India, therefore, remains discontinuous and imperfect. Hence, each convert community displays particularities based on its preconversion social structure, its embeddedness in the regional sacred landscape, and its postconversion self-conscious reconstitution. For example, the Catholics in the Madurai Mission during the early seventeenth century were shocked and disgusted at the thought of being equated with Parava Catholics from the Fishery Coast or with the Portuguese in Goa. Conversion to Christianity obviously meant different things to different convert groups, but it never meant a universal religion. In addition, the change of heart and the change of customs, rites, and political allegiance were quite different propositions. Thus, learned Brahman converts might not see any contradiction in turning Christianity into their private faith, while for the outside world they would continue to follow strict rules of purity and pollution and even perform life-cycle ceremonies and participate in temple worship. Precociously, Nobili's solution to this problem was to name all the trappings of religious behavior that were not inner belief social, not religious at all.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Jesuits again tried to separate the religious and the social in order to convert Brahmans who

came to study in their colleges. In St. Joseph's College in Tiruchchirappalli, the idea was put forward to found a separate residential colony for the high castes who enthusiastically participated in this latter-day adaptationist experiment à la Nobili and who themselves declared:

> We wish to show by the practice of Christian virtues . . . side by side with an outward conformity to Brahman habits and custom, that Christianity does not mean drinking, wearing hats, boots and trousers, or surrender of caste dignity, but a vivifying influence which raises man to the highest perfection of his moral nature.[70]

That the converts' Christian experience should on no account be equated with a European experience is a Jesuit discovery to which Nobili dedicated some of the most brilliant pages in his Latin opus concerning theologico-anthropological aspects of accommodation. This is the major turn, or trope, that defined the Jesuits' type of Christianization in their "difficult" missions in India, China, and Japan.

The expressions and institutions of the native or vernacular Christianity that developed and continue to branch out from these early missionary centers in India can therefore be called *tropical Catholicism* for at least two reasons.[71]

One reason is to evoke the fact that, historically, the climate was considered part of the difficulty in converting the natives because of its humoral connection with idolatry. The ecological basis of Indian religious experience—which is also the basis of Indian medical experience—was therefore perceived as an essential problem in the eradication of idolatrous practices.[72] By the middle of the eighteenth century, the relation between the hot Torrid Zone and idolatry solidified into a self-evident truth. According to Montesquieu, warm climates debilitated the elasticity and the force of the fibers in the body, making Indians cowardly, passive, impressionable, sensual, lazy of mind, and given to idolatry.[73] In the early nineteenth century, Abbé Dubois, a French missionary and a famous ethnographer/informant for the British in matters of Indian customs and manners, extolled caste as the social adhesive linking otherwise barbarian Indian crowds.[74] It was only by acquiring knowledge in order to dominate both the natural environment and social relations that the later British scientific enthusiasts opened the way for controlling the effects of India's "hot" and "deranged" demography, society, and religion.[75]

The second reason is because of the linguistic vernacularization (or tropicalization) of the Christian message, church rites, and social customs associated with conversion. By the reeds, branches, and lianas of the various Indian languages into which missionaries translated catechetical works, the plenitude and historical intricacies of immemorial beliefs and practices dating from before the conversion returned to weave together and reinterpret Christianity in unpredictable new ways. Thus, when Henrique Henriques rewrote the history of Christianity for his angelic community of Parava converts, starting with Christ's circumcision, he told them that "in the beginning there were no Muslims, only Jews and Tamils."[76] Tamils were, in this sense, generic gentiles (*gentíos*), but the way Henriques turned the history of Christianity into a Tamil (Indian) history might have appeared quite unsettling to his contemporaries in Europe.[77] Luckily, Portuguese ignorance of the Tamil idiom served as a protective shield for this linguistically ambitious Jesuit. As a New Christian (converted Jew), he was, of course, under suspicion of the Inquisition.

The use of language, including communicating through gestures, moreover, is what makes the conversion discernibly tropological because it is premised on the displacement of cultural patterns and the change of consciousness.[78] The endeavor to replace memories linked to a particular culture and language with one's own memories is a willed act and an ideal of each proselytizing mission, but conversion never works quite that way. Conversion can be defined rather as an intentionally false equation posturing as simple translation. For example, *Deus* (God) equals *tampirāṉ, confesso* (I confess) equals *kompesarikkiren, pão* (bread) equals *appam.* If we analyze each word in these early missionary translation pairs, transferring Portuguese meanings into Tamil words, we will discover layers of meanings that would make the transfer suspicious, even impossible. According to the *Tamil Lexicon, tampirāṉ* means (1) God, (2) master, lord, king, (3) title of Travancore kings, (4) non-Brahman monk of Saiva mutt (monastery), and (5) overseer of monks.[79] Only by reducing words to a single, unified meaning can the translation/conversion actually be effective. This, of course, proved to be impossible. Thus Nobili replaced *tampirāṉ* with *sarvesvaraṉ,* claiming that the latter Sanskrit term was free of political and pagan subsignification.[80] From Henrique Henriques to later Jesuit grammarians and lexicographers of Tamil, like Balthazar da Costa and Antão de Proença in the seventeenth century and Giuseppe Beschi,

Domingos Madeyra, and Paulo Francisco de Noronha in the eighteenth, the translation process did not come to a halt.[81]

To make things even more complicated, as soon as Sanskrit was "discovered" and defined as the language of the indigenous sciences, it rapidly acquired the status of the Indian "Latin" and for a long time held the promise of being a (possibly) perfect receptor language of Christian spirituality.[82] From the early eighteenth century, the French—spreading from Pondicherry, where different missionary orders (Jesuits, members of the *Société des missions-étrangères,* and Capuchins) cohabited uneasily and led quarrelsome lives—as well as the Dutch, German, and English all entered into the game of the conversion-translation-domination pattern that fed into the British colonial scientific turn.

Narrative Frontiers, Frontiers of Paganism

This book is divided into three parts. In the first part, Tropical Saints and Relics, I look into how the biographies and relics of the two major Christian saints, St. Francis Xavier and St. Thomas the Apostle, helped various Portuguese colonial actors frame and sanctify their own sacred and political jurisdiction and geography in India.

Francis Xavier's early premonitions, travel adventures, mission fields, canonization after death, and relics marked and outlined the scope of the Jesuit expansion from Africa to China. Xavier's vita, sanctified in texts, theater performances, and paintings, is the perfect and exemplary model of a missionary life. By stripping away the layers of hagiographic narratives, from official inquiries to Jesuit histories that multiplied following the process of canonization in Rome (1622), my aim in this first chapter is to signpost the major themes and sites of contention taken up by his successors. During his relatively short, hectic, and tempestuous ten years of travels through Asia, Francis Xavier seemed to have lived through, savored, and reflected on all the important missionary issues, from the desire for personal sanctity to the method of accommodation. Although his ultimate mission (to conquer China for Christ) ended in failure and death, his body continued to make history. Jealously kept in the Church of Bom Jesus in Goa, Xavier's relic finally grew its local, tropical roots and continues to impersonate both a Christian saint and an Indian divinity for his local Christian, Muslim, and Hindu devotees (fig. 4).

The second chapter traces the history of the Portuguese discovery, in the early decades of the sixteenth century, of the tomb of St. Thomas the Apostle on the Coromandel Coast. The "invented" and contentious history that this discovery produced is still a living tradition. A scramble for the holy bones and relics and the rivalry between various Portuguese actors, both religious and secular, brought some prosperity and little peace to the town of São Tomé de Meliapor (today a suburb of Chennai or Madras). Nowhere did the sacred and the political work together so seamlessly, at least in the beginning, than in this small enclave "at the holy feet of the apostle." While for the Portuguese and the Jesuits the apostle's bones and relics were a way to appropriate the dispersed local sacred sites of dubious origin and authenticity, rewire them with their own brand of Christianity, and then claim political cum religious authority over the whole of the territory, St. Francis Xavier's body was imported to Goa precisely to add the much needed sacred dimension to the Portuguese capital and to the Jesuit Indian headquarters. These two homegrown saints are two examples of the Portuguese colonial will to acquire a firm local grounding. Just how and where the fusion of the local tropical and global Christian substances was to occur depended on the preexisting geography of the sacred and on contingent historical events filliped into motion by various actors.

The next three chapters, which belong to part two, Tropical Virtues and Vices, unravel and document a variety of Jesuit missionary experiences in India. All the protagonists *in fabula* are pioneers and inhabit, in one way or another, the frontiers of the Christian world. Their judgments and writing, their decisions and, at times, misguided actions, defined the limits of the possible and desirable in geographical, cultural, and epistemological terms. Thus, in the third chapter, a Portuguese Jesuit with an aristocratic pedigree, António Gomes, who appeared to have led the same missionary Christian zealous life as Francis Xavier, ended his missionary term in India as a falling star, a flop. My aim in scrutinizing the history of his personal and missionary failure is to analyze the inner workings of the Jesuit institutional machine as it was periodically jump-started in the frontier missions. The combination of the excess of spiritual fervors and Portuguese aristocratic nationalism, epitomized in the life of António Gomes, is the background against which larger issues vital for the survival of the Society of Jesus were chiseled out. The use of personal charisma or will versus obedience or discipline, the principle of egalitarian *communitas*—feeling among the

members versus hierarchical structuring—these are some of the dilemmas continuously facing Jesuit superiors and subalterns. The solutions were, of course, often disappointing, as António Gomes bitterly learned during his stay in India.

The desire for martyrdom is at the heart of the fourth chapter. It is a particularly complex Jesuit predicament since the Jesuits were encouraged both to strive for and, paradoxically, to avoid it. Hence, martyrdom became a tangled political issue among the Jesuits themselves. Antonio Criminali, the major character in this chapter, whom non-Christian soldiers decapitated near Vedalai on the Fishery Coast in South India in 1548, never acquired the crown of martyrdom. He is often ambiguously called a protomartyr because his act of self-sacrifice was considered as somewhat imprudent and rash. While in the course of the sixteenth century a full-blown aesthetic cult of the martyrs developed in Jesuit colleges in Rome and in Europe, in the field, on the frontier, the missionaries were advised to avoid violence at all cost. Conversion was finally a question of the tortured heart, not of the body.

The increasing Jesuit interest in the anthropology of paganism and the discovery of Hinduism from the early seventeenth century on are discussed in the fifth chapter. By looking into two treatises written by contemporary Jesuit writers Diogo Gonçalves and Jacome Fenicio, the world of South Indian idolatry and, in their opinion, deviant social customs breaks open in their informative frontier narratives. Each focused on different issues according to his own sensibility: Gonçalves on descriptions of kinship structure, geography, and basic religious beliefs; Fenicio on cosmologies, religious beliefs, and rituals. Long before the idle British amateur ethnologists, these two protoethnographic accounts mapped the territory later assigned to Hinduism.

Finally, the third and the last part of the book, Disciplining the Tropics, is about Jesuit (and Portuguese) conceptions of the pagan body and pagan language. Both needed to be disciplined, straight-jacketed, and fashioned into a proper Christian idiom. The disciplining project was not without problems since the Jesuits had to invent their own strategies as they went along and discovered new missionary fields. One was a medical mission that turned out to be problematic in spite of its great popularity among the Christians and the "pagans." The inherent contradiction involved in the Jesuit medical mission is explored in the sixth chapter in the examples of the biographies of two Jesuit physicians and by looking into how the Jesuits were compelled to redefine

their medical tasks. Instead of simply curing individual ailing bodies, they endeavored to heal and reform the sick social body of the Estado da Índia. Instead of administering medical treatment, Jesuits wrote and enforced the rules and regulations for the hospitals. Their contemporaries considered spiritual, social, and corporeal hygiene recommended by the Jesuits to be a full success.

In the seventh chapter, it is the Holy Word that serves as the medicine of the soul. The first Jesuit translation of catechism and other Christian manuals and stories into Tamil is where the first true accommodation took place. The Jesuit linguistic mission had enormous success among the Parava pearl-fishing communities, but the problem of whether the Christian doctrine was translatable into Tamil, a "pagan" idiom, remained. How to convert a language continued to haunt Jesuit linguists in the Tamil country, from Henrique Henriques to Roberto Nobili and Giuseppe Beschi and others. This last chapter discusses how much twisting of the tongue is necessary or sufficient for conversion and whose tongue is twisted in the end.

It is obvious that the Jesuit missionaries imported an enormous amount of European cultural baggage and spiritual furniture to their Indian frontier, but it was the local bazaars that actually defined the price and the demand for these and similar goods. It may also be true that the tropical world of India produced humoral and geographical boundaries that demanded a great deal of bodily energy and skill to adapt. The Jesuits not only had the strength and the zeal for the job, they also left texts, descriptions, and written opinions—a rich tropics of discourses from which we can glimpse the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Indian missionary frontier. The seven chapters in this book are no more than frontier flagpoles claiming a narrow strip of land, but leaving a whole tropical forest for those who will come.

PART I

Tropical Saints and Relics

CHAPTER ONE

The Sacred Body

Francis Xavier, the Apostle, the Pilgrim, the Relic

Between Hagiography and History

In a dream one night in May 1537, the first explicit divine sign appeared concerning an Oriental venture in which a young Navarrese nobleman was to play the most prominent role. According to one of his early seventeenth-century hagiographers, Sebastião Gonçalves, Francisco de Jassu y Javier, alias Francis Xavier, a member of a little company of zealous Catholic pilgrims returning from Rome to Venice, woke up in the middle of the night and cried out:

> God help me, brother Diogo Laínez, I am completely broken! Do you know what was brought before my eyes while I slept? That I lifted and carried on my back, for quite some time (*um bom espaço*), a black Indian like those of Ethiopia, so heavy that I was unable to lift up my head, and even now fully awake and alert as I am, I find myself feeling so tired and crushed as if I had truly fought with him.[1]

Prophetic dreams and omens prefigure all biographies of Xavier, from those by Manuel Teixeira, Horatio Turselino, João de Lucena, Alessandro Filippucci, and Petrus Possinus, to mention a few of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Jesuit writers, to the master biography in four volumes by George Schurhammer, first published in 1955.[2] In spite of their various hidden or even self-consciously disclosed religious, national, and political agendas, the life story they tell is structured as a closed narrative or a commemorative monument enclosing an exemplary figure whose every action is coded and strung together in relation to his ultimate goal, the Christianization of Asia.[3]

For the same reason, these hagiobiographies tend to overvalue historical detail to the point of generating new ones, either through

tropological shifts such as *amplificatio,* metaphors, allegories, and similar baroque devices or, in the case of contemporary, positivist historians such as Schurhammer, by simply adding more relevant and irrelevant material. Adding archives to archives, as we may call this procedure, led him at times to abandon historical "fabulation," that is, a proper narrative grid, leaving the reader before long enumerative lists of various items—a kind of historical directory. In fact, Schurhammer's meticulous and organized search for true data, original documents, and authentic materials only confirms the suspicion that the hagiographical and historiographical are bound up with one another as—to borrow a locution repeated by the early modern mystics and dear to Michel de Certeau—a "coincidence of opposites."[4] Moreover, Jesuit historiography, or any other partisan historiography, seems unable to contrive a discursive point outside of its own sacred (*hagios*) enclosure in which time and space coalesce into aestheticized certainty.

Gonçalves's rendering of Xavier's self-prophesying utterance can briefly illustrate the process of textual enclosure and sanctification practiced by Jesuit writers. Xavier's dream was first related by Diogo Laínez, a future general of the Society of Jesus (1556–73), to Pedro de Ribadeneyra, who was at the time working on the biography of its recently deceased founder, Ignatius of Loyola.[5] Ribadeneyra recorded the first version of the dream as an apostrophe, a dramatic exclamation inviting the readers to sympathize with Xavier's bodily fatigues. Compared with later citations of the same passage, however, it is lexically rather poor and simple: "Jesús, qué molido estoi! Sabéis que soñava que llevava a cuestas un indio y que pesava tanto que no le podía llevar?" (Jesus, how tired [or ground down] I am! Do you know that I dreamt of carrying an Indian on my shoulders who was so heavy that I was unable to carry him?)[6]

On the other hand, the exuding pathos and what rhetoricians call "argument *ad misericordiam* (from pity)" are present here as an essential part of hagiographic expression.[7] The paradox of carrying what one is unable to carry further underscores the magnitude of the task and points to its heroic dimension.

Later biographers embellished this and other passages in accordance with their sense of rhetorical efficiency and semantic accuracy. João de Lucena, Manuel Teixeira, and Sebastião Gonçalves added new elements to the picture. The Indian becomes black as an African (Ethiopian), which hints at Portuguese racial taxonomy in which the blacker the

skin, the lower one's place in society.[8] During the second half of the sixteenth century in which all these Jesuit writers were active, a sense of the superiority of white skin seems to have been strong among the Portuguese in Asia. This phenomenon should not be confounded with the pseudoscientific racism of the early nineteenth century but rather be seen as the beginning of a particular Luso-Iberian variety developed through the institutionally encouraged early miscegenation in the colonies.[9] Gradations between black and white were conducive to, though not necessarily effective for, higher social status. Thus, the statement that ostensibly mistakes Indians for Ethiopians and vice versa is neither a sign of geographical ignorance, as might appear at first glance, nor a colonialist strategy of generalized "othering" and collapsing non-European peoples into a collective they.[10] It provides a finely nuanced contemporary perspective on the state of missionary progress and the Portuguese geopolitical situation in Asia.

Ethiopians, or Africans, were increasingly perceived as failed converts and disappointing Portuguese subjects.[11] Reaching Prester John, the speculated king of Ethiopia in the fourteenth century, had been one of the major tasks of the early Estado da Índia and of Dom Manuel, whose plan was to enroll this mythical Oriental king in the reconquest of Jerusalem.[12] In the second half of the sixteenth century, these plans were quickly withering away. Rare as they were, descriptions of Ethiopian customs such as Francisco Álvares's *A verdadeira Informação das terras do Preste João das Índias,* published in 1540 and immediately prevented from distribution, first for political and then religious reasons, all pointed to insurmountable theological differences.[13] In 1555, the Jesuits were sent to reform the Ethiopian (or Abyssinian) church. Its Monophysite "heresy" and "Judaizing" and its "pagan" customs were to be completely expurgated. With a mixture of force and persuasion, Jesuit missionaries like Pedro Páez did make some progress in what they saw as spiritual reconquest by the early seventeenth century. But after 1632, the successors of King Susenyos brought an end to the Catholic missions in the country.[14]

In a word, when Lucena and Gonçalves loaded "a black Indian like those from Ethiopia" on Xavier's back, the Jesuits, especially missionaries in India such as Gonçalves, were well aware of the difficulties that faced this African mission. In addition, farther south in the hinterland of Mozambique, Jesuit missionaries had a traumatic experience, sublimated into martyrdom narratives of Dom Gonçalo de

Silveira (1561), who converted the king of Monomotapa and baptized him as Dom Sebastião, only to lose his life and ultimately the mission to the Dominicans.[15] This is also why the "black Indian like those of Ethiopia" engaged in battle with Xavier (and managed to kill some of his successors).

The scene itself, dreamt before the opening of the Jesuits' Asian frontier and, moreover, prior to official papal approval of the Society of Jesus, might not have been an apocryphal, pure figment of Laínez's imagination. In the 1530s, *Indian* was the blanket term for the peoples inhabiting the New World, due to the initial mistake of its "discoverer." Hence, if Xavier did utter those phrases, and if Laínez transmitted them more or less correctly, he probably carried in his dream one of those *naturales de la tierra* (natives) encountered by the Spaniards, for whom Franciscans and Dominicans already established missions, churches, and convents. The ambiguity of the category *Indian* was, in fact, useful in hagiographic maneuvering, in this case in attributing to Xavier the gift of prophecy and clairvoyance.

All partisan biographers read into Xavier's apostolic trajectory a sense of unavoidable destiny that was India, again ambiguously taken as an emblem of the whole of Asia and the subcontinent itself.[16] Here we face a tautology or a circular argument: Xavier desired his Oriental destiny because he was destined to desire it. Moreover, the desire for one's destiny authenticates the destiny itself. In many ways, it is possible to claim that both Xavier and Loyola self-consciously enacted scenes and provided clues for their future sanctification. They believed in and actively strove for confirmation of their divine election. This code of behavior became current among most of the members of the Society, although, of course, official canonization would ultimately be conferred upon the exceptional few.

Since candidates for canonization are typically and exclusively dead candidates, their res gestae and the completed curriculum vitae had to be clothed in appropriate *verba*. In fact, at least a generation of "clothing," that is, the retelling of their exemplary deeds, is needed in addition to insistent canvassing before the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome before the canonization process is officially opened. The chances of the candidates finding either institutional support or a network of church officials and laymen organizing publicity campaigns were generally slim if not nonexistent.[17]

Xavier and Loyola both succeeded in this fierce competition and

were canonized, in 1622, with great pomp and celebration in Rome and during the next few years in all the major Jesuit churches and colleges in the world. Since Jesuit membership grew from one thousand at the time of Loyola's death (1556) to fifteen thousand in the early seventeenth century, the power of numbers played an important role, but even more significant is the fact that one of the major Jesuit administrative innovations relied on the power of writing—from rules and regulations, catalogues and directories, to spiritual literature and histories of the order and its famous members.

The Ignatian maxim inscribed on almost every picture and every column in Jesuit churches—"ad majorem Dei gloriam" (for the greater glory of God)—is not simply testimony to Jesuit celestial and terrestrial ambitions. The comparative form of "the greater" or "more" (*más, magis*) reveals a sense of incompleteness that in turn generates a desire for excess, as brought to maturity in the literary production and in the visual arts of the baroque period.[18] Loyola and Xavier were both "knights in the extreme," to paraphrase Cervantes's description of Don Quixote.

"More, More, More," was another somnolent cry reported by Xavier's biographers. The first occurred in the Spanish hospice in Rome where he had slept side by side with Simão Rodrigues in 1537 just before departing for Venice in the company of Diogo Laínez, who recorded his "black Indian" dream.[19] It was not until the very moment of departure from Lisbon (on April 7, 1541) aboard the *Santiago* (providentially, perhaps, a name of a saint and a war cry against infidels and the enemies of the Christian faith) that he revealed the secret of his prophetic dream to Rodrigues, who was to remain behind as confessor at the Portuguese court of João III.

> Do you remember, brother, that night in the hospital in Rome, when I woke you up with cries, saying *More, More, More*? How many times you have asked me to tell you its meaning and I always responded that you should take no notice of it. Now I know what I saw there, in a dream or awake (God only knows), namely, the hardest labor, exertions and sufferings of hunger, thirst, cold, travels, shipwrecks, betrayals, persecutions and perils, all of which are offered to me for divine service and love. And the same Lord granted me at that time the grace of not being satisfied and of asking for more and much more with those words you heard.[20]

Xavier's limits of "more" were reached, according to hagiographic accounts, only when he felt his own heart bursting in his chest. At which point he opened his tunic and cried out loud, "No more, Lord, no more."[21] The earliest seventeenth-century portraits of Xavier, all copies of the lost *Vera effigies* (true image) sent from Goa in 1583 by Alessandro Valignano, record the gesture precisely, though with excessive modesty, of opening his plain *roupeta* (habit).[22] Another variant of the same theme usually seen in captions, coming either straight from Xavier's mouth or written above or below the portraits is the phrase "Sat est, Domine, sat est" (it is enough, Lord, it is enough).

Xavier's mystical communication with the divine in sudden raptures, in dreams, and in prayers, an "act of homage to missed reality" according to J. Lacan, was riddled with demands and solicitations.[23] In a similar way, though in a quite different register beyond hagiographic implants, Xavier revealed himself in his missionary letters as a very demanding and commanding person. His ultimate humility, measured by long hours spent in pastoral work, from hospitals to royal palaces, can also be interpreted as a form of violence. He constantly fought his enemies—the devil, the flesh, the world (*diabo, carne, mundo*)—and engaged in battles that he usually won, although at times not without some bruises. Thus on one occasion in the house of the Frangipani family in Rome, Xavier fought so violently with demons in his sleep that his nose bled. Again on the eve of his departure for India, Xavier gave Simão Rodrigues, who also witnessed the scene, an explanation:

> You must know, brother Master Simão, that God has granted me the great grace of preserving my virginity. That night I dreamt that we were on a journey and that a young woman came into an inn and tried to touch my breast. To fend her off, I shoved her away from me with my arms with such force that I must have burst a vein, and this is why I bled and woke up.[24]

Whether this at first glance sexually titillating vignette is a hagiographic invention or a lived experience would be difficult to determine. It was reported in a letter from a Jesuit, Francisco Vázques (December 10, 1596), in which he confirmed a former deposition relating the event, and given to Francisco de Ribera, who was engaged in writing the life of Xavier but who died without finishing it.[25] The woman, we are told,

was in fact a demon, known to have haunted the Frangipani residence. As for the part of the body attacked, it was not out of prudishness that the breast was the target. First of all, Christ's nurturing breasts were a topos in Christian spiritual literature.[26] Sixteenth-century readers, especially other Jesuits, would not have associated Xavier's imperiled breast with voluptuousness but rather with his gifts to act and to receive temptations in *imago Dei* (image of god).

By the end of the sixteenth century, another object belonging to private worship during the medieval period and located beneath the breast—the sacred heart—increasingly became a fetish of public devotion.[27] The heart of Filippo Neri (1515–95) was believed to have been enlarged during an ecstatic prayer in the catacomb of St. Sebastian on Via Appia, in 1544. It is most probable, then, that the gesture of Xavier's hand pointing to his breast, painted in portraits and described in detail in biohagiographies from the sixteenth century on, designated his heart, his virginal heart, as has often been repeated. To explain his states of rapture, Sebastião Gonçalves proposed that they had been simply outer manifestations of Xavier's "heart and [his] spirit, which stay awake and make jaculatory prayers towards Heaven" even while "his body is asleep."[28]

A fantastic side of desire turns in circles in hagiographic literature, enabling various ends to meet. From cradle prophecy to apotheosis, all elements of the puzzle are perfectly legible in the light of one and only one function—the achievement of sanctification. Since hagiographic maneuvering is a process in which saints themselves have relatively little to say—even those who were prolific and/or talented writers were neither able nor allowed to provide all the conclusive and ineluctable details of their sanctity—hagiographies are more efficient and persuasive when they construct their case out of silences, half-determined hints, and rumors. The history of Christianity had amply proved the degree to which an empty sepulcher could become a fountain of saintly discursiveness.[29] Nevertheless, everything started with an individual will to sainthood, a desire to be a star.[30] Xavier truly believed that he was on a mission of God, as most of the Jesuit founding fathers and their successors came to believe of themselves. The gap is narrow from the certainty of a divinely assigned mission to the certainty of personal sanctification, but the means of bridging it are not always accessible. Xavier succeeded. Let us see how.

Global Politics of Sanctity: Jesuit European Experiences

Circumstances were favorable for Xavier's emergence as an exemplary holy man of the post-Tridentine period, although he died some ten years before the last session of the famous council. The fact that he was of noble origin, an ordained priest, a member of a religious order and one of its founding fathers, and, last but not least, a male helped his chances for prompt canonization in the early seventeenth century when the papacy encouraged a strict observance of the clerical profession and theological virtues. More precisely, Xavier was sainted on March 12, 1622, at the height of papal administrative centralization and in the company of four other saints: Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Avila, Filippo Neri, and Isidor Labrador. It is generally thought that the choice of four Spaniards and one Italian was not arbitrary but was the occasion for Spain and the papacy to seal and display their alliance at the very beginning of the Thirty Years War.[31]

Except for Isidor Labrador, a peasant patron saint of Madrid from the twelfth century, the other four saints were contemporaries, and in spite of their differences, they were called upon to respond, directly or indirectly, to those who challenged the primacy of the papacy and/or proposed alternative religious and devotional practices within or outside of the Catholic Church. Riding on the crest of Catholic renewal, they were also, during their lifetime, suspected of lapses into heterodoxy, except for Francis Xavier, whose long and crucial absence from the papal court allowed for cultural experiments and spiritual practices that might have been less appreciated in the center of Catholicism. For one thing, Ignatius of Loyola, Filippo Neri, and Teresa of Avila were under constant surveillance, either by their peers in Rome or by their confessors. One politically wrong move and the shiny castle of personal sanctity could simply disintegrate into dust. Teresa's *Vida,* which became a model of female spirituality, had been censured in the making by her confessor, as she herself mentioned in her text.[32] The fact is that, given her *converso* (converted Jewish) blood, her life story had to be publicly declared as censured regardless of her doctrinal orthodoxy or errors, in order to deflect the idle curiosity of the Inquisition.

As a counterexample, we can take the curriculum vitae of a Sienese, Bernardino Ochino, from the recently seceded Franciscan faction the Capuchins, who had a brilliant career and possibly sainthood in front of him, mostly due to his abilities as a preacher. But after walking on

the razor's age of papal orthodoxy, he finally fell to the other side and, after 1545, chose exile instead of the "justice" and "charity" of the Inquisition.[33]

With the fourth vow, by which the Jesuits obliged themselves to "special obedience to the sovereign pontiff in regard to the missions," unwittingly, perhaps, as it turned out in the long run, the members of the little Company both acknowledged and strengthened their privileged relationship with the papacy at the center of the renewed Catholic world, while at the same time the inherent mobility of their ministry brought them to the limits of heterodoxy and paganism.[34] In the incessant movement from the center to the periphery and vice versa, they succeeded in creating islands of religious effervescence throughout the non-Catholic world by infusing a sense of the holy, a holy *praesentia,* into the foreign social fabric.[35] They were, of course, not the only missionaries responsible for the conversion of non-Europeans and often worked in tandem, though not always in harmony, with other religious specialists. Nevertheless, it was mostly Jesuit social ingenuity that managed to forge an enduring sense of solidarity among newly converted Catholics in Asia, even when local political constellations were determined to root out the religion of the foreigners.

Xavier's saintly praesentia and *potentia* (power) were partly a product of later hagiographic literature, but even during his lifetime, he was considered a very special human being. A human being with connections to the Holy Father, His Holy Spirit, His Son, His Son's Mother, and all the others in the saintly pantheon. In addition, Xavier also acted as somebody well connected with the Roman ecclesiastical hierarchy, the king of Portugal, the viceroy of India, and local political and clerical coteries. Therefore, Xavier had two sets of devices in his missionary toolbox, both geared to connecting distant peoples with Rome, with Europeans, and with each other. In fact, Xavier and most but not all of his successors in the Asian field combined a late medieval model of Christianity, fashioned along the lines of kinship, friendship, and locality, with what would become a new model based on church centralization (pastoral, theological, administrative, and political) and the reinvigorated ecclesiastical body of the early modern period.[36] The cohabitation of these two models was not only at times awkward but also quite dangerous. From the late sixteenth century onward, the accommodationist missions in China, Japan, and India suffered from the inherent tensions between global and local missionary strategies.[37] Related to this were

also tensions between institutional obedience and personal freedom, between public and private.

Hence, the second big wave of Christianization after late antiquity faced some old and some new sets of problems, all of which Xavier had to solve one way or another in his short but electric missionary career. Even though, seduced by hagiographic inventiveness, we are prone to commit a sin of anachronism by purporting that Xavier had a "global vision" in his missionary enterprise, it is nevertheless safe to claim that in the course of his lifetime in Asia he did create one and was perhaps aware of it. But his time was running out too quickly. The "discovery" of the New World and Luther's revolt against the church undermined a number of late medieval certainties but also engendered new expectations and illusions. The desire to travel, perilous as it was at the time, especially ocean travel, became a metaphor for both human folly and heroic freedom.[38] Thus, a famous *velho do Restelo* (old man from Restelo) warned Vasco da Gama of the consequences of his departure from the *oikos* and *domus* (home) of the known world, a warning that made Gama's exploits even greater. Translated into a spiritual and religious idiom, traveling had always been an integral part of pilgrimage. In early Jesuit vocabulary designating their apostolic mobility, *missions* and *pilgrimage* were often taken as synonyms.[39]

When Xavier was sent on the first and in many ways decisive mission of the Society in March of 1540, "journeying for ministry" had already been determined to be one of the most important facets of this new religious order, which was still desperately seeking papal approval. Departing from the old monastic model of religious life that stressed the *vita contemplativa* and escape from the *mundus* and mundane activities, the Jesuits proposed a hybrid "contemplation in action." The content of action was the salvation of one's neighbor, subsumed in a general motto of "saving oneself while saving others." Although the new religious orders and congregations that began to mushroom in the sixteenth century, such as the Theatines, Somaschi, and Ursulines, to mention but a few, and the reformed old orders and their offshoots, such as the Capuchins, also dedicated their ministry to apostolic work, the Jesuits went the farthest. Farthest in all senses. In 1552, Xavier died on the island of Sanciam overlooking the Chinese coast.

However, the desire to travel had to be dissociated from human desire, ensuing from the flesh. It was important also to denude it of all material gain, with which travel was in fact inextricably bound. In

1539, after intense deliberations among the nine founding fathers, an elegant and efficient formula was found to solve this problem. It is their famous—or infamous, as their detractors would have it—fourth vow of obedience to the pope. Enshrined in the *Constitutions,* written after Xavier's departure, besides the three classical monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, a full-fledged Jesuit (a professed father) had to also pronounce, "I . . . promise special obedience to the sovereign pontiff in regard to the missions, according to the same apostolic letters and the Constitutions."[40] This much-misunderstood vow, according to O'Malley, was directed in the final instance "like all religious vows . . . to God."[41]

And here lies a snag, or rather a space of freedom opened for the Jesuits to experiment with their apostolic actions. The uncertainty about the frontiers between the sacred and the political in the sixteenth century confers on this vow a shade of ambiguity. By insisting on absolute obedience to the ever-higher authority, even surpassing the human sphere and reaching the heights of the divine, the Jesuits publicly displayed a lack of personal will and desire.

> It is necessary that we should make ourselves indifferent to all created things, in all that is left to the liberty of our free will and is not forbidden, . . . desiring and choosing only that which leads us more directly to the end for which we were created.[42]

Related to the theological concept of *adiaphora* (things indifferent), over which Catholics and Protestants substantially disagreed concerning, for example, the nature of the sacraments and sacramentals, Loyola's concept is firmly lodged in the spiritual field without ever glossing over contemporary political and religious debates.[43] Indifference is a personal strategy of a new, "more perfect" human being, which is first to be cultivated in oneself in order to then be transplanted to others. "You have to decide to accept indifferently both elevation and abasement," Loyola advised his friend and devoted fan Isabella Roser in a letter from Paris (1532), while at the same time acknowledging her financial help of twenty ducats.[44] Xavier appeared to have been even more indifferent to the things of the world since it was Loyola who ordered some clothes packed for him before the journey to Portugal, after discovering that Xavier had only one shirt.[45]

In the *Constitutions*, indifference incarnates as a technical Ignatian

concept suspended judgment or impartiality. Moreover, *indifferentes* were those members of the Society who were "received indeterminately," but without fixed grade, and who "in keeping [themselves] open for complete humility and obedience, [they] ought to leave all the concern about [themselves] . . . to [their] Creator and Lord and, in His name and for His divine love and reverence, to the same Society and its superior."[46] The text of the paragraph is somewhat misleading for the uninitiated because in practice it was the superior who was called to decide upon the grade and future destiny of the candidate. Somebody at some point had to decide for somebody else on the lower grade of the scale. Hence, the interior mechanism of decision making was a major problem that Loyola tried to solve all his life.[47] Ideally, the decision had to come from God, but one had to know how to read the holy signs. Since this alchemy of meaning—which consisted in finding a perfect overlap between the divine and human decisions—took place exclusively in one's soul, how was one to know that the sign came from God and not from the devil? The soul, that very private place, had to be enlarged and opened up as a playing field for cosmic forces. Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* were written precisely to tame and propitiate these powerful impulses in and of the soul by establishing a direct dialogue with the divine.[48]

Through prayers and the special use of imagination, that is, by constantly shifting one's I/eye from one role to the other (e.g., "to consider, as if I were at the point of death"), one was to choose or "to elect" between A and B.[49] Ignatian choice, according to Roland Barthes, is always constructed as an alternative. Therefore, the question is not *what to do* but *to do this or to do that.*[50] Another term to define the same is *discernment,* by which one understands the act of distinguishing, separating, evaluating, and weighing carefully (good from evil, divine from demonic, etc.). However, to be able to hear God's response, one had to be empty, that is, inclined to nothing, indifferent, because the answer is not simply, if at all, a verbal sign. It can be a vision, an inner motion accompanied with a sudden burst of tears, unusual silence, or, in pictorial language, a ray of light.

All in all, decision making is both positively difficult, laborious, time-consuming, and ultimately a product of a sudden—for want of a better term—illumination.[51] Loyola described in his *Journal of Interior Motions* some of the most torturous moments, between February 2 and March 12, 1544, when he faced the crucial decision whether or not a

new Society was to accept donations and accumulate possessions.[52] In spite of Loyola's anguish over his own ability to solicit the answer, to call out and reach God, the ultimate certainty of the divine response is quite stunning, given that no clear sign seemed to have been given. In other words, a vacant sign is taken by Loyola as a decisive sign, and the decision between *to have* (possessions) and *not to have* was *not to have.* Starting with nothing, Loyola's discernment led him to nothing.

The authorial space is therefore framed as a *locus proprius* of the Father. Other forms of authority—such as that vested in the general or in the superior of the order, for example—are all measured according to the proximity to their ultimate source. The problem is that the process of impersonation prescribed by Loyola's spiritual exercises, the problem of assuming and exploring from inside the roles of others, leads inevitably to uncalled-for slippage, such as mistaking human for divine. And, finally, if according to the *Constitutions* the Jesuit goal is "to find God in all things," the locus of authority is thoroughly shattered. The problem of central authority remained unresolved, but the pulleys and axles employed to cover its empty center, to present an illusionist facade, were much more successful. Obedience and indifference were both a cover-up for inherent indecisiveness, a lack of nerve on the part of early modern European culture, and a reinvigorated response to a new quest for authority and certainty.[53] In practice, especially missionary practice, the hollow center meant exhilarating and disconcerting freedom. Hence, a global or panoptic view of the world came into fashion.

Enacting a Social Drama: The Conversion of Asia

Xavier's missionary trajectory in Asia aimed at engendering a social drama of conversion. Structured as a rite of passage from sin to virtue, from paganism to Christianity, from dark to light, the act of conversion became a site of collective memory. Strung one after another, following in the steps of Portuguese merchants, soldiers, and adventurers, these sometimes geographical, often virtual, but always "narrative," sites scattered on the face of Asia and, in the midst of the gentiles, served to forge and promote "ideal" Christian social relationships. A next step in the construction of this new *res publica Christiana* (Christian republic) in Asia was to link and federate these dispersed enclaves.

Xavier's first impressions of the state of Christianity beyond the Cape of Good Hope, or the Cape of Torments as it used to be called, were of decline, destitution, and insularity. In fact, it was on the island of Socotra on the east African coast that he came in contact with the "native Christians." In the early years of the Portuguese Oriental expansion, these were sought out in order to form an alliance against the Muslims. It was Dom Manuel's idea to attack Mecca from the "rear," that is from the Indian Ocean (before the final reconquest of Jerusalem), with the help of the lost Christians of Prester John, who were vaguely identified as Ethiopians.[54] Hence the famous response "We came to seek Christians and spices" from the *degredado* (convict-exile) João Nunes, who was the first man from Vasco da Gama's fleet to be sent on land in Calicut.[55]

In 1542, Dom Manuel's messianic dreams had long since been buried. The island of Socotra, perceived providentially peopled by Christians converted by St. Thomas and as an important strategic point for entering the Red Sea and from there for approaching Mecca became a location of low priority on the Portuguese geopolitical map. For the same reason, Martim Afonso de Sousa, who was on his way to Goa to assume governorship there and with whom the future saint shared the sea passage, refused Xavier permission to remain on the island to reconvert and improve the state of these Christians because "he told me that he would send me to other Christians who need the doctrine as much or more (*más*) than those of Socotra, and where I would do more (*más*) service to God our Lord."[56] The desire for more, amplified by the hagiographers, appears here as a mercantile calculation, further enhanced by his description of the economic and human potentials of the island. "The big island . . . [is] called Socotra, the land deserted and poor; neither wheat, rice, millet, wine, nor fruit is harvested there: it is sterile and dry." On the other hand, dates, meat, and dairy products were in ample supply. But immediately he continued: "It's a land of burning heat (*grandes calmas*). . . . These people are very ignorant. . . . They are men of poor knowledge." Again, as a counterpoint, he acknowledged that during two encounters with the local Christians, they "gave me with love and good will all they possessed in their poverty." Hot climate and ignorance among the people, even those who were supposed to be Christian, were thus immediately identified as tropological twins.

The decision to leave Socotra was, of course, left to the governor,

mostly because it coincided with Xavier's intentions. In theory, Jesuits were instructed to comply with Portuguese secular authorities since all the missions in Asia were technically under the jurisdiction of the royal padroado. Although there was no fifth vow to the king of Portugal, in reality, decisions made in Lisbon were more binding than those made in Rome. In 1549, Loyola admitted in a letter to João III that it was "our duty to submit ourselves to Your Majesty and carry out everything you desire with all our will."[57] In Asia Portuguesa, the will of the secular arm and the will of the Jesuits did not coincide on many occasions. Furthermore, the overlapping authorities and jurisdictions, both within the Portuguese colonial administration and within the Jesuit order, allowed for prolonged intercontinental litigation.

The perfect fit between Martim Afonso de Sousa's commanding decision and Xavier's obedient submission was not a rule but rather an exception. More often than not, decision making was a complex process of negotiations, threats, supplications, rumors, and open declarations of war. As an inaugural motive, the Socotra episode unfolded and displayed, perhaps still un-self-consciously, the eastward drive that was to dominate the colonial careers of both Martim Afonso de Sousa and Xavier.[58] One was in search of terrestrial profits; the other of celestial. It was, however, in Goa that the fortunes, spiritual or temporal, were made and unmade. Of some six to seven thousand Portuguese men in Asia, three to four thousand were in Goa, competing for resources, honor, and, as Xavier and other religious would notice, "occasions" of pleasure.[59] Ceremonial space and coded social interactions were observed within the city walls by the *casados* (married men), *soldados* (soldiers), officials of the Estado da Índia, and religious specialists who were mostly Franciscans at the time of Xavier's arrival. Besides occupational division, the ascribed rank and status—from the descendants of the "New Christians" to the high nobility—contributed to the creation of additional social distinctions. In the course of time, Asian women married to the casados, and their children, brought new subcategories into existence. And last but not least, in Goa there were many foreign merchants—the "pagan" Hindus, infidel Muslims, Italians, Armenians, and other more or less clearly defined nations or religious groups—and a large number of service groups and slaves, both Catholic and non-Catholic.[60]

The application of a strict hierarchical social gradation was a way of safeguarding one's identity, especially for those at the top of the hierarchical pyramid, in a world without apparent limits. An Italian traveler

in the early seventeenth century, Pietro della Valle, remarked on the Portuguese obsession in Goa with rank and status in the city community:

> Some [Portuguese] there are who, to avoid submitting to such employments as they judge unbecoming to their gravity, being all desirous to be accounted Gentlemen here, lead very wretched lives, undergoing much distress, and being put to beg every Day in the Evening; a thing which in other Countries would be accounted unhappy and more indecent, not to say shameful, than to undertake any laudable profession of a Mechanick Art.[61]

Della Valle's *gentiluomo,* or "Gentleman" in the English translation, corresponds roughly to the Iberian variant of *homens-bons,* a relatively large group of lower nobility. In Asia, on the other hand, homens-bons were identified with casados who were recruited from much lower social strata. A similar observation by a Dutch traveler in Goa in the late sixteenth century, John Huyghen van Linschoten, stressed the appetite of local Portuguese for noble titles, the result of which was an inflation of them since even "[the] Cookes boyes and others as meane as they, are made knightes."[62] Not without sarcasm, he listed the names of the titles, all of which were meticulously written down in the books of the "Matricola Generall," (Official Register) from which the certificates were also available for those who were to return to Portugal or to settle elsewhere in Portuguese Asian enclaves. Mostly, however, these certificates, according to Linschoten, were used in order to apply for administrative positions in the Estado da Índia.

The Goan colonial community was an exotic cultural island in its own right, according to both of these travelers, one Dutch and the other Italian. Linschoten described the rules of the social game in detail.[63] Honor and jealousy, haughtiness and laziness, cruelty and sycophancy, and, most of all, desire for profit were attributed as human qualities to all social groups, religious included. Pietro della Valle's opinions, on the other hand, already echoed the literature on Portuguese colonial *decadência* (decadence) in Asia. Hence, aside from dwindling profits and downright poverty, the social ambitions of the Portuguese remained the same. There were positively hostile accounts by European travelers in the second half of the seventeenth century, such as Abbé Carré, who not only criticized Portuguese colonial behavior but also found that "[in] this large and once flourishing city of Goa . . . I could hardly find any

shadow or vestige of its former splendor. [The viceroy's once magnificent palace] contains nothing remarkable except the picture gallery, where one still sees the portraits of the ambassadors sent by the Indian kings and princes to do homage to the Viceroy of Goa."[64] There was still something remarkable about Goa, which would astound the European "progressive" world. This was the Goan Inquisition, whose "just" and "charitable" hand another Frenchman, Charles Dellon, had experienced on his own skin and about which he published a remarkable account in 1687.[65] Quite early in the sixteenth century, Portuguese texts, from Gil Vicente's satire *Auto da Índia* to João de Barros's *Ropica Pnefma* and *Grammática* to Sá de Miranda's poetry, pointed to the losses, mostly spiritual and human, caused by Portuguese colonial expansion. Barros summarized his contemporaries' fears by defining *temporal defects* as "conquering, navigating and trading," all of which were "invented by Satan."[66] Luís de Camões, a poor soldier in Goa for seven years, experienced that city as a den of fools and thieves and enshrined it in his work *Disparates da India*.[67]

In fact, when João III sent Francis Xavier to Goa, it was not only for the sake of the pagans and infidels but also for those Portuguese whose lives and souls were in peril.[68] Or perhaps it was João III's soul and his honor among his Catholic peers that needed to be shored up and the nickname *spice king* given his father, Dom Manuel, that needed to be deleted from collective memory.

Commercial and Spiritual Profits

The loss of spiritual muscle felt by the Portuguese literati coincided with the change of heart at the royal court. While the first part of João III's reign, when humanist "sciences" and projects were encouraged, resembled a Renaissance court, his later reign until his death in 1557 was characterized by the spirit of Counter-Reformation. Piousness, austerities, self-discipline, and sexual continence were enshrined as virtues at the court. Xavier was himself impressed by the atmosphere of Catholic devotion in the city of Lisbon. He stayed more than half a year and, in his role as confessor, came to know a large slice of Portuguese courtly and clerical life. His coreligionist Simão Rodrigues wrote that "the rush for confession was great, and I am not surprised, because the people of this country are inclined to the service of God, and so full of devotion

that they think that when they kiss our clothes, they kiss the relics of the saints."[69] Nevertheless, according to Xavier, some other people thought that even in Lisbon Jesuits could make "more fruit in confessions, in private conversation, through Spiritual Exercises . . . than if we were in the Indies (*a las Indias*)."[70] These people even tried to prevent them from leaving Portugal.

The process of saintly self-fashioning, inscribed, so to speak, in the growing genes of the "little Company," as the founding fathers were wont to call it, was well underway. Not that the Jesuits were unique in feeling the presence of the divine close to their skin. Theatines and Capuchins were in many ways similar in social actions and personal austerities but failed to emerge during the sixteenth century as an international order, which in turn stifled their internal organization along bureaucratic lines similar to those of the Jesuits. Centralized epistolary and administrative bookkeeping provided a sense of institutional memory to their itinerant members, while the communication networks channeled individual Jesuit life histories back and forth from the peripheries to the center and vice versa, disseminating patterns of ideal worldly conduct. The same words and the same phrases would be voiced over and over from India to Brazil, obliterating individual for the sake of institutional authorship. Personal sanctification of one's companions was one of the recurrent topoi. These were, of course, immediately displayed in the display windows of the Society—in printed letters and books. Internal quarrels in which Jesuits saw in their companions demons, rather than saints, were duly relegated to the archives or suppressed.

Personal but publicly visible sanctity, cultivated by Jesuits, was their special asset in sixteenth-century Portuguese Asia since the holy itself, peddled in the early decades like any other commodity, became a leading export from Europe and its price rose with demand. And the demand was huge, as Xavier's letters testify. The affinity between the expanding spiritual and mercantile networks was obvious, at least to contemporary detractors of the Jesuits from the Protestant North. But there is more to it than meets the eye, and the relationship between the temporal and religious arms in Portuguese Asia may have been more complicated than appears at first glance. On the one hand, the acquisition of riches, especially by usury, was deemed un-Christian. And while it was useful and indispensable to have property and a liquid treasury, Portuguese upper nobility, including the royal house, loathed being associated with moneymaking activities that were too obvious. It was the

lower, service nobility and merchants who were busy acquiring fortunes, perhaps only in order to be able to buy themselves noble titles and resume noncommercial, prestigious lifestyles. The problem was that such values undergirding the career of a merchant—intense self-interest at the expense of others, currency speculation, spatial mobility in far-flung "unclean" regions, lack of communal ties visible in the non-observance of religious and social sacraments, and so forth—were exactly opposite to the values of an ideal Christian.

Hence, the casado communities in India and in Southeast Asia were an obvious target for Xavier. Encouraged from the time of Afonso de Albuquerque to marry local women and settle down permanently as traders, casados were an important social group in Portuguese Asian "fortresses" and market towns. They were an extremely varied group in terms of their economic power, political connections, and social and cultural capital because some of them were New Christians and because they were geographically scattered throughout Asia. On the chessboard of Portuguese colonial politics, casados and their families were permanent players. While governors and viceroys, fidalgos, state officials, and even most of the top ecclesiastical authorities came from Portugal and normally returned after the expiry of their mandate, casados remained to fight for and protect their corporate interests embodied in political and social/charitable institutions such as the *Câmara Municipal* (Municipal Council) and the Santa Casa da Misericórdia (Holy House of Mercy).

Xavier was well aware of the importance of the Misericórdia, which operated as an agent of social and economic redistribution and as something like a part-time spiritual security policy engaged in ensuring the otherworldly prosperity of the soul by giving its body a decent burial. In his 1549 letter of instruction to Gaspar Barzaeus, a Jesuit stationed in Hurmuz, he insisted that Barzaeus "be of service to Misericórdia as much as possible and be good friend of the Brothers, and help them in everything."[71] In addition, he recommended that all the money given in charity to the Jesuits be handed over to the brotherhood. Refusal to receive and even touch money was one of the most important directives the Jesuits followed. Loyola's decision to adhere uncompromisingly to the principle of poverty after an agonizing soul-searching, tersely noted in his *Journal of Interior Motions,* might not have been so easily decoded in the Roman setting, but it made perfect sense in the Asian missionary field. The Jesuit religious vow of poverty was a way

of avoiding economic obligations and social reciprocity. "The one who takes [money], will be taken by the other" and the best is "not to take the necessary from any person," Xavier wrote to Gaspar Barzaeus before his departure for Hurmuz. Refusing all gifts, Xavier understood, would be refusing all communication, which was not the point. Therefore, a Jesuit should take "small things daily" from the hands of the Portuguese.[72]

A much more elegant and, in the long run, efficient formula seems to have been to let others manage financial affairs. Already in 1544, Xavier made similar provisions for his South Indian mission among the Parava fishermen. Thus, he reminded Francisco Mansilhas in Manappad that the money from the pearl fishery should not be given directly to the missionaries by the Portuguese official Cosme de Paiva, the captain of the Fishery Coast, except if "the Lord Governor" gave him an *alvará* (official letter, royal charter) with which he could buy a *topaz* (topaz).[73] By refusing money, Xavier also dissociated himself from any moral or immoral obligations to this official, whom in the months to come he would accuse publicly of greed and hold responsible for murder and political disorder on the Fishery Coast. When money did pass through Jesuit hands, it was only in order to spend it on personnel and services provided by missionaries, such as catechism schools for children, hospitals, and similar activities, never for the upkeep of the missionaries themselves.[74]

Cosme de Paiva was not a casado but a former *escudreido-fidalgo* (squire) of the royal house in Portugal and a son of Lourenço de Paiva, the secretary of Afonso de Albuquerque, and belonged to the service nobility (*nobreza de serviço*). So he was not exactly supposed to have been engaged in private trade but rather in promoting the economic, juridical, and political interests of the royal household. In practice, these positions were regarded as sinecures for quick enrichment and status promotion. No doubt thinking of Paiva and his like, Xavier wrote to Simão Rodriguez in a letter dated January 27, 1545, not to allow "any of your friends to come to India as royal officials, because about them you can say *deleantur de libro viventium et cum iustis non scribantur* (they must be deleted from the book of life and not reckoned with the just) . . . since here they all go the way of *rapio, rapis.* And I am astonished to see how those who come from there find so many moods, tenses, and participles for this poor word *rapio,* [*rap*]*is.* . . . From this you can see how poorly prepared are the souls of those who come

[from Portugal] with these offices to pass from this life to the next."[75] Such an open and passionate critique of Portuguese behavior in Asia was reserved for his fellow Jesuits, as a private, strategic communication "not for everybody's eyes," as it would later be defined by Loyola's secretary Juan de Polanco.[76]

In another letter written on the very same day and addressed to his brothers in Christ, that is, other Jesuits in Rome, Xavier chose to present a different image of the Indian missionary field. It is a Jesuit missionary "package tour brochure" aimed at attracting new recruits.[77] In his descriptions of spiritual opportunities, indirectly promising even more to those who come, Xavier boasted of ten thousand baptisms performed among the Paravas and quite real occasions to suffer martyrdom, such as the conversion of the six hundred Christians from the island of Mannar, the best possible cause for death for a Counter-Reformation Catholic.[78] The holy was near the surface of the earth in these regions, and the divine signs were loquacious and visible, corporal and tangible. Thus when the king of Kotte in Sri Lanka, Bhuvaneka Bāhu, ordered that his elder son, Jugo, who had converted to Christianity, be killed, "a burning cross" (*una cruz de color de fuego*) appeared in the sky and "in the place where they killed him the earth opened up in the shape of a cross."[79] These miraculous occurrences were perceived as special graces provided for the Christianization of the pagan territories. If in Rome and in the established Catholic world they were becoming rare, new unsettled or hostile areas abounded in them.[80]

In addition to this propagandist picture postcard, Xavier concealed all the dirty details of Portuguese involvement in this Sri Lankan adventure, which appears as an affair built around a personal conversion, without even mentioning that the monopoly trade in cinnamon from the island led the Portuguese to meddle in the royal succession crisis after the death of king Vijayabahu of Kotte.[81] In fact, by that time, the Apostle of India was rhetorically and truly tired of his Parava mission, complicated by Portuguese military maneuvers in the area.[82] In February of 1545, he was already in Cochin, from where he went to Nagappattinam and then to São Tomé de Meliapor, before setting out for Southeast Asia in August of the same year.

In the manner of a stranger, as portrayed by Georg Simmel, or of a "liminal persona," dear to Victor Turner, Xavier was unable to function in structured, politically and socially overdetermined situations.[83] What appeared externally as a drive for more territory, more souls,

more corporal suffering, and so forth was in fact a refusal to relinquish his internal effervescence, produced by his maintaining personal dissociation from common, blinding, social reality. Xavier was in a perpetual state of transition in all he did. Being in one place, he longed for another, spiritually better and higher place. While on the Fishery Coast, he dreamt of going to Ethiopia, then to Melaka and Makassar, from where he dreamt about Japan and then of China. His apostolate was as mobile as his desire.

But the desire had to be sustained and upheld by a healthy body, of that much Xavier was certain, and recommended it to Loyola in another letter written from Cochin on January 27, 1545.[84] According to his first assessment, what was not necessary for the Parava missionary field were letters, that is, excessive education of the new missionary recruits, since the work was mostly corporal and spiritual—teaching prayers, confessing, baptizing, and visiting all the parishes on the coast. Two years earlier, he had even suggested that only young Jesuits be sent, not old.[85] Since only three of the few missionaries sent to Asia reached India in September of the same year, Xavier somewhat lowered his criteria and even allowed for sickly members, or, as he put it, "those who do not have bodies to do more work (*que non tiengan cuerpo para llevar más trabajos*)," to be employed in Goa and other places inhabited by the Portuguese, where they would find many "medical doctors and medicines."[86]

And finally, the fourth letter, written only a week before those to Rodrigues, Loyola, and the Roman Jesuits and destined for João III, the king of Portugal, is a critique of Portuguese mercantile activities in the Orient, disguised as an aid "to appease Your Majesty's conscience" for failing to do more to spread the Christian faith.[87] Christian idealism, as exposed by Xavier in this quite daring invective, goes clearly against trade, temporal profit, and greed. João III was, in fact, likened to Xavier himself because "God has attributed Your Majesty . . . the Empire of the Indians" not for the collection of revenue and the importation of precious things from those lands but in order to propagate 'Our Holy Faith.'" The king was therefore given a mission, and at the end of the letter Xavier admonished him: "Therefore, His Majesty should better weigh the temporal riches he obtained from India through divine intercession and deduct from it what he spends for religious affairs and think of the day when he will have to present his accounts to God." However, in spite of his highbrow, lofty indictment of the relentless Portuguese ac-

cumulation of capital, what Xavier actually demanded from the king was more money to finance missions, to employ more religious specialists, to establish, build, and endow educational religious institutions, and so on. Religious poverty and world capitalism were, even otherwise, compatible, and as far as Xavier perceived it, the religious and the commercial were inextricably, even organically, connected since they both served the same "otherworldly" purpose—the salvation of the world before the Last Judgment. If people all over the world were brought together, claimed Xavier, it was in order to engage in the commerce of faith (*fide negotium*).

The king's personal response to Xavier is lost, but there is a letter of instruction, written in March 1546 and addressed to Miguel Vaz, vicar general of India, who returned to Goa after delivering Xavier's letter.[88] Point by point, João III reiterated Xavier's concerns and even appropriated his vocabulary. Thus he ordered that "o fruitto disso vá cada vez em mayor cressimento," that is, that ever-bigger fruits were to be grown from conversions and Christianization.[89] At times the king almost sounds like a Jesuit. But more importantly, he opened his royal treasury and endowed the College of St. Paul in Goa with eight hundred thousand *reis* and sent ten Jesuits and six Franciscans (or *Capuchos*) to be employed in various missions in Asia.[90] He also ordered Dom João de Castro, the governor (1545–48), to provide finances for the construction of churches and cross monuments (*padrões*) and the destruction of idols.

This letter gave religious activities in Portuguese enclaves a boost. In the next few decades, the results were impressive, at least in the territory of Goa, where stable indigenous Christian communities came into being.[91] The College of St. Paul, or Santa Fé, as Xavier preferred to call it, was specifically established to instruct young Asian and African boys in the Christian religion, train them for priesthood, and later send them back to their native places as ministers or missionaries.[92] Only a few years later, doubts whether non-Europeans, especially Indians, were capable of becoming secular priests, let alone members of the Society of Jesus, poisoned the atmosphere in the college. While Xavier only spread news of Indian spiritual defaults and flaccidity, partly to justify his displacement toward Japan, António Gomes, a Jesuit rector of the College of Santa Fe, put those feelings into action by excluding "native" (Asian and African) Christian boys and replacing them with Portuguese.[93]

From the beginning of their Asian missionary field, the Jesuits endeavored to distinguish "national" and/or "ethnic" categories—for example,

Indians, Japanese, Malabars, Macuvas, Paravas, and Malaysians—and ranked them in terms of their various intrinsic qualities and susceptibility to Christianization. According to Xavier, for example, Indians were barbarous and did not want to know "things which do not agree with their pagan customs. They have no inclination to understand the things of God and their salvation. Their natural powers are corrupted in relation to all kinds of virtues. They are incredibly inconstant because of the many sins in which they have lived."[94] This is not a "first glance" opinion, because he had earlier been quite complimentary of, for example, Parava Christian devotion. What made him change his mind was his encounter with the Japanese, who were also "white people" (*gente branqua*) living in a temperate climate.

On the other hand, it is not always clear who those Indians were since, for Xavier, India corresponded to India Portuguesa, that is, the sum total of all Portuguese enclaves in the Indian Ocean. From his letters it is clear that he often collapsed the natives and Portuguese settlers (casados) and their progeny into one and the same category—the Indians. The distinction between *indiático* (a person born in Asia of Portuguese parents) and *reinol* (a newcomer from Portugal) was, it seems, publicly sanctioned, for the reinol was ridiculed and lampooned until this person adhered to local customs.[95] However, while, according to Lischoten, indiáticos took some sort of pride in their own identity, which consisted of customs resembling those of the natives, like drinking water without touching the glass, Xavier mostly regarded cultural syncretism as aberrant. In 1546, when pleading as usual with João III to send more workers for his Oriental "vineyard," the Apostle of India wrote that "women of the casados, who are native of the country (*naturais da terra*), and their mestiço daughters and sons, define themselves as Portuguese by birth but not by law; the reason for this is the lack of preachers who could teach the law of Christ."[96]

According to this description, the casado identity was quite undetermined in terms of ethnicity or even religious allegiance since there seems to have been more than one option, apart from Portuguese and Catholic, none of which were to Xavier's liking, as is seen in his next statement: "There are many here who live according to the Mosaic law (*ley mozaica*) and the Moorish sect (*seita mourisca*) without any fear of God or shame before the world." The world of the casados in Asia appeared to Xavier as only half or, even worse, only superficially Christian. In Xavier's mind, the commercial, social, and cultural hybrids that

mushroomed in Portuguese Asia were dangerously close to slipping into paganism, heresy, and apostasy. Quite a number of them actually did choose to go to the nearby Muslim or Hindu kingdoms, often in order to flee penal conviction or similar adversity. Officially called *arrenegados* (renegades) whether they converted to Islam or not, or simply *alevantados* (rebels) and/or *lançados* (castaways), these men were quite threatening because their actions clearly showed that the cultural package imported by the Portuguese was unable to monopolize the local markets but had to compete with alternative political and religious structures. According to the missionaries, an intermediary category in this downward spiral from casado to arrenegado was a freelance soldado and a freewheeling merchant (*solteiro*), both without a fixed household, or at least not within India Portuguesa. To strengthen Estado da Índia's official grip on these scattered individual Portuguese, besides financial incentives or physical coercion, a new service provided by the missionaries was set in place. It was confession, or as the Jesuits preferred to call it by referring to its ultimate goal—conversion. Capturing lost and disoriented Portuguese souls was something missionaries often boasted about. After Xavier's death, canonization inquiries in Goa, Melaka, Cochin, and elsewhere recorded testimonies of various witnesses with varying degrees of reliability, but each of them stressed his special concern for the Portuguese lost sheep.

João de Eiro (or Juan de Hierro) was a soldier turned merchant who met Xavier in Colombo before being "converted" in São Tomé de Meliapor (Mylapore) on the Coromanel Coast in 1545.[97] For reasons one could only guess, perhaps a personal life crisis (he was thirty-five) and/or substantial losses in his business, Eiro was attracted to Xavier's teaching. The Indian apostle described him laconically as "a merchant, who had a ship full of merchandise, with whom I spoke of the things of God, and God gave him [the grace] to feel that there is other merchandise in which he never traded and so he gave up the ship and the merchandise and the two of us are going to Makassar. [He is] determined to live all his life in poverty and to serve God our Lord."[98] The conversion was not instantaneous, according to both Eiro himself and Xavier's hagiographers. Sebastião Gonçalves gave it a theatrical touch with the protagonist Eiro entering and leaving the scene (of the text and) of his own conversion directed by Xavier. The decision revolved around worldly possessions. "A thousand thoughts, a thousand temptations were offered [by the enemy of the human race] to João de Eiro

in order to keep him in his service; 'what will come of you, you miserable man (said the demon speaking from within) if you fall to your bed? Who will give you what is necessary? Is it not much better to acquire, in order to have, than to give, or to request? Christ's doctrine is: better is to give than to take [Acts 20:35]. And for that reason, David said while speaking with God that he recognized him as such because he does not need his goods.' A novice managed to escape the first shots of the enemy."[99]

The risks and vicissitudes of Portuguese freelance mercantile activities are well described by Sebastião Gonçalves, a veteran Jesuit involved in cultivating Portuguese souls in the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[100] But what appears as a very unfavorable attitude toward profit and acquisition is perhaps not just that and is certainly not the point. Gonçalves's demon was, in fact, warning Eiro and his readers against lulling themselves into thinking that they could ever be economically independent. Pretending or striving to be free, just like God, would amount to hubris. The demon of individualism, the one speaking inside Eiro, had to be thwarted before men like him, who found themselves in the middle of "pagan" and "infidel" territories of Asia, could pass to the other side, or "go native." There was, however, a way to acquire more freedom, Christian freedom. Xavier's life story itself tells of a flight from human and collective restrictions and provided a template for alternative career choices in the far-flung colonies of the Portuguese Asian empire. Switching one's business to spiritual merchandise promised new commercial horizons and, at times, justification for economic irresponsibility and adventurism.

Mercantile desires combined with miraculous expectations circulated throughout Asia after Xavier's death. A written deposition by Diogo Madeira for the Goan inquiry into Xavier's saintly life only three years after his death demonstrates, in addition, how rapidly and seamlessly he was co-opted and embedded in local supernatural lore.[101] According to Madeira and later hagiographers such as João Lucena and Sebastião Gonçalves, Xavier saved a poor merchant who had lost all his belongings in a shipwreck. Full of compassion, Xavier dipped his hand into the purse but found nothing. He then turned his gaze toward heaven and consoled the merchant, entrusting his case to the Lord, and the very next moment, his purse was filled with gold *fanams*. Hermits, fairies, and holy men have minted money in most of the world religions and cults, but in this case the prototype for the story is easily identi-

fiable. On the same beach where Xavier met this man—whom Gonçalves called *chatim,* a generic name the Portuguese used locally for a merchant, Christian or non-Christian, Portuguese or Asian, or simply *homem do mar* according to Lucena—another already confirmed saint and apostle was reported to have performed similar miraculous feats upon his arrival.[102] The *santa casa* (the holy house) over the tomb of the apostle St. Thomas was already the rallying point for a small but relatively wealthy settlement of Portuguese casados, about one hundred households in Xavier's estimate, and all was done to enhance its spiritual prestige without ever losing sight of commercial profits. Often, in fact, behind the shield of the apostle's holy presence inflated by the discovery of his bones, its casado merchant community did everything to evade and resist centralizing efforts of the Estado da Índia from Goa.[103]

The subtext of Madeira's story was that São Tomé de Meliapor, as the town came to be known, was a place where riches could be made under and ensured by the doubly divine protection of St. Thomas and Francis Xavier. Creating *ex nihilo* goods and money was a saintly gesture by which Xavier helped the merchant resume his commercial career in the same spot where, in a similar move, St. Thomas was reported to have constructed his own santa casa out of a single, gigantic piece of wood, having paid the workers with sand that turned into rice and with wood splinters that turned into ducats.[104] The blending of Xavier with the original apostle, a complex figure constructed with elements of various local traditions—Christian, Hindu, Muslim, and possibly others such as Jain and Buddhist—was seen as propitious for the building of the local Christian cult.[105] It is well-known that Christian cults and market towns worked to reinforce each other, and in Asia they were no exceptions.

There is a curious detail in Madeira's story that goes against Xavier's basic principle of never accepting money with his own hands, but rather handling it through intermediaries. Of course, divine currency is open to allegorical readings that his hagiographers did not pursue. What we see as a contradiction did not appear as such to his contemporaries. Jesuit missionaries in particular appropriated the whole range of mercantile and even mercantilist conceptualizations and images to describe or legitimize their own activities. As we have seen, Xavier and Loyola, in their own words, were driven toward the greater spiritual fruit or profit (*proveito*), and in the manner of shrewd merchants they would pick and choose more fruitful and profitable missions, leaving those considered

"sterile" or "too simple" to others. Even the earliest hagiographies call Xavier "the trader of souls" (*negoceador das almas*), repeating his own words, such as "trading spiritual things" (*negociar cousas espirituaes*).[106]

In spite of its ups and downs, Portuguese mercantile enterprise in Asia inspired Jesuit missionaries, Xavier being the first. In his early reflections on the Asian apostolic field, the spiritual trade relationships Xavier projected in space and in time were strictly monopolistic and monopsonistic. Competition from the local religious specialists was to be thwarted and they themselves annihilated, if not immediately, at least in the long run. This uncompromising Christian state *dirigisme* was an ideal around which Xavier endeavored to organize his missionary corps in Asia. What applied to a social body was also applicable to the microcosm of an individual. Thus, in his exhortatory letters aimed at inspiriting or inflaming future recruits from European universities, he stressed that they would have to make "fruit" and also keep transparent "book accounts." Xavier admonished the students at the University of Paris, where he studied at one point and where he met Loyola, with "Domine, quinque talenta tradidisti mihi, ecce alia quinque superlucratus sum [Mt 25:20]."[107] Just like the servants in this biblical parable who made money by trade for their absent master, education was to be used for "fructifying" the Christian world and not for accumulation, by way of letters, dignities, benefices, bishoprics, or other ecclesiastical and temporal goods. "Quid prodest homini si universum mundum lucretur, animae vero suae detrimentum patiatur" (for what use is it to a man to gain the whole world and to lose truly his soul [Mt 16:26]) is another favored exhortatory quotation that Xavier advised Rodrigues to remind João III of and to have him meditate upon after every prayer. He himself wrote to the king that, after death, he would have to "give accounts of [his] stewardship [Lk 16:2]."[108] Borrowing the language of the Bible was, in fact, the easiest way to speak about the unspeakable but urgent need for money and resources to finance his Asian missionary enterprise. Simply putting his hand into an empty purse was obviously not enough in the real missionary situation.[109]

Very often, the spiritual and the commercial blur in a kind of Jesuit doublespeak or at times faute de mieux strategy. Thus Xavier instructed Rodrigues to save the soul of Jurdán Garro by persuading him to "request God to take away his sins" instead of "petitioning the King to remunerate him for his services." "Once he is there, you could favor him by giving him the advice to become a monk (*frade*) rather than to go

back to being a *lasquarin*, a soldier."[110] But, as if what he said was somehow unrealistic, Xavier ended the paragraph by adding that Rodrigues should help him obtain the money from the king for his services. Spiritual gain if possible, material if necessary, but public mise-en-scène of personal poverty and financial indifference always. In his instructions to Gaspar Barzaeus before he departed for Hurmuz, although he insisted that the alms should be given to the local Misericórdia, he added in brackets a private proviso that "if it seems [that] the contrary [is better], proceed according to what you feel is for the greater service of God and of the neighbor."[111]

Xavier's "fieldwork" instructions (*regras*) issued to the Jesuit missionaries abound with antimonetary injunctions. However, the more he refused and redistributed money, the more he was actually involved in complicated financial transactions, and consequently, whether he wanted to or not, the more he thought about them. When he left the Indian field for Southeast Asia, Xavier also showed more appreciation for merchants and their dangerous and exciting profession. His maritime pilgrimages, as he often referred to his apostolic travels from Melaka to the Moluccas and to Japan, were possible only on private, and not always Portuguese, merchant ships. Like freelance merchants (solteiros) and other casados, Xavier sailed farther and farther away from Estado da Índia's "fortresses" or, as he often called them, *fortalezas del'Rei*, where fiscal control and official depredations diminished the profits and fruits, both commercial and spiritual.

Upon returning to India in 1548 after almost two and a half years spent in Melaka and the islands of the Moluccas, Xavier's assessment of the local missionary field was generally pessimistic. He maintained in his letters to João III that this was primarily because of the Portuguese officials who not only gave bad examples of Christian behavior but also oppressed new converts.[112] In addition, given that the Indians had a penchant for idolatry, ignorance, and barbarity, not many people "white or black" were destined for heaven, "except those who die in a state of innocence, like those dying at fourteen or younger."[113] To avoid wasting his time anymore in regions where royal edicts favoring newly converted Christians were not respected, Xavier explained bluntly to João III in 1549, "I am almost running away to Japan."[114]

Cruel Portuguese captains and factors operating in Portuguese India were, therefore, replaced with adventurous but mostly pious merchants discovering and linking together new Asian markets. They not

only served as reconnoiters, informants, and companions but also as Xavier's principal benefactors and "bankers," advancing money for the construction of churches, residences, and colleges. Even before he arrived in Japan, it was Portuguese merchants who encouraged Xavier to join them by offering descriptions and opinions he willingly believed—that a great Japanese lord (*hum senhor grande*) desired to become a Christian and that the country possessed "great dispositions for spreading the holy faith, because the people are very prudent and discreet, reasonable (*achegada a rezão*) and desirous of knowledge."[115] Once in Japan, in spite of his determination not to accept money, he acquired loans from merchants, loans that João III was supposed to repay, at least in theory, as part of his padroado duties. Thus Xavier praised a famous merchant, Fernão Mendes Pinto, whose travel account *Peregrinação* (Peregrination) became a bestseller as soon as it was published in 1612, nine years after his death, and who, joining the Society for a brief period, gave Xavier "300 *curzados* to build a 'house' in Amanguchi (Yamaguchi)."[116]

Although Xavier endeavored to live up to his charismatic persona—a free-standing figure with the solid reputation of objectivity and dissociated from social and economic obligations that easily turned or were perceived as turning into corruption and nepotism—in practice, as he came to understand, he was incurring debts, and he was ultimately obliged to pay. Xavier's trading in subtle, virtual, transcendental, but corruptible merchandise, such as the "soul's conscience" (*a conciencia da alma*), "a very rich merchandise" (*uma veniaga muito rica*), was made possible only through Portuguese mercantile networks in Asia, both official and private.[117] At times, it was necessary to encourage Portuguese merchants to follow in Jesuit steps. When writing in 1549 to Pedro da Silva, the captain of Melaka, Xavier wholeheartedly invited him to establish a *feitoria* (factory or a trading post) in Sakai, one of "the principal Japanese ports," because, he claimed, there was "a lot of temporal fruit" (*muito proveyto temporal*) to be made.[118] On the other hand, in a letter to António Gomes, the rector of the Goan college, Xavier quite cynically remarked that, in his experience, the Portuguese would never send a ship to Japan "only for the love of God," hence he should tell them about riches and gold that awaited them in the port of Sakai.[119] Commercial Portuguese networks provided important shortcuts for his apostolic enterprise. Relying on other channels of communication—Chinese pirate boats for example—would have slowed down

if not destroyed the quick shipping of the missionary personnel.[120] And he had no time to lose, as he often repeated.

Nevertheless, the usual payment to the Portuguese in Asia and to the king for assisting the missionary enterprise consisted, as Xavier maintained, in watching over and regularly servicing their conscience, a sort of after-sale guarantee.[121] Another repayment, however, came from Xavier's ever-growing treasury of influence. He proved to be an indefatigable writer of recommendation letters to João III and to Jesuit superiors in Europe, petitioning for salaries, rents, pensions, and services for his benefactors in Asia. It might be called a traffic in influence, and it certainly was just that, but there was no other way to function in a situation where spatial and temporal distance permitted only one criterion of objectivity—a word of honor.

Soul Curators: Indulgences, Interior Alchemy, and the Disciplining of the Body

Just as Xavier had to apply and devise shortcuts, mostly through commercial networks, in his hectic terrestrial *peregrinatio* (itinerary), leading him personally to sainthood while, as he hoped, transforming Asia into a Christian commonwealth, the same is true for the inner journey, within the soul encapsulated in the human body, which itself became a field of mission and of Jesuit special expertise. The interior shortcuts were various and for varied purposes. Since Xavier did not have time to write a full-fledged manual of Christian self-fashioning, a task left to his successors, such as Baltasar Gracián, Pierre Le Moyne, and many others, he provided short and at times telegraphic instructions on what he considered the most important points concerning both Jesuit souls and those of their charges and targets.

For an ideal Jesuit missionary, Xavier demanded inner stability. Precepts and techniques employed in the spiritual exercises and by the Ignatian disciplining spirit are clearly visible in his texts, from resolution through obedience to understanding the functioning of interior decision making. More than elsewhere, the Ignatian intuition of the supreme importance of first saving oneself in order to save the other makes perfect sense in the missionary context. In his famous and longest letter, written from Kagoshima in 1549 at the time of his arrival in Japan and addressed to the Jesuits in Goa who were sooner or

later to become missionaries in Asia, and Japan in particular, Xavier gave fervent, though somewhat unsystematic and repetitive instructions.[122] Cultivating one's soul, according to his psychological reading, should lead to inner humility (*umildad ynterior*), which can be achieved only through inner knowledge or conscience (*conocymento ynterior*). This inner knowledge, fortified with solid virtues, should then serve as protection against temptations provoked by the three classical Christian enemies—the devil, the world, and the flesh (diabo, mundo, carne).

For the novices in the College of Santa Fé in Goa, Xavier prescribed that they "experiment [or experience] and exercise [their] weaknesses (*flaquezas*) in order to understand them, and show them to the persons who can help [them] and cure them, such as [their] confessors who are already experienced or other spiritual persons in the house." The invitation to experience one's "flaccidity," of course, refers exclusively to the interior alchemy of passions, images of desire, and diabolical tricks played by the "enemy" (*inimigo*). "And know for certain that many sorts of temptations will pass through you, when you go out on your own, or two by two, exposed to many ordeals in the countries of infidels and in the storms on the seas." Only by being able to simulate the attacks on and defense of one's innermost, visceral, personal site could a Jesuit missionary hope to be able to provide help to other souls. "You should first know how to cure yourself and then the other," Xavier underscored again and again. The ideal Jesuit interior that resists any impressions from the outside world, which is sinful by definition, appears in fact as a space emptied of all affects. Hence the multiplication of expressions, verbal and nominal, signifying this impermeability or, perhaps, translucency of the soul. Sins and temptations should ideally only "pass through" (*passar por*), while one should "see through" (*mirar por*) oneself in order to overcome or win over (*vencerse a sy mismo*) oneself, flesh included. In the same vein, the Spiritual Exercises prescribe "the conquest of self and the regulation of one's life."[123] Other mystics of the period experienced the same transparency in their relation to the divine word they solicited.[124] Humility, one of the crucial concepts in Ignatian spiritual vocabulary and often interchangeable with abnegation, appears in Xavier's exhortations as the ultimate perfect state that inwardly guides all other exterior actions, such as obedience to superiors and even corporeal signs such as a "joyful face" (*rosto alegre*).

In addition, only an empty and humble soul is equipped to listen to and decipher the movements of the free will bestowed by the divine

source. Dispersed along the frontier with the non-Christian world as the missionaries were, the ability to form correct judgment in spiritual and temporal matters was, according to Xavier, vital both for individual survival and for the survival of the Society of Jesus. For the same reason, any exaggeration in acts, thoughts, or desires was dangerous because it opened one's soul to passions and affects, such as pride (*soberbia*), which ultimately becomes harmful (*danoso*) and can make one lose one's devotion. Xavier proscribed extreme spiritual and mystical ambition, just as Loyola did in his letter to the Jesuits and novices in the college of Coimbra in 1547. The latter letter was interspersed with authorial quotations to drive home one and the same message—namely, that all excess is detrimental to the Jesuit vocation.[125] In principle, fervors are necessary. However, fervors (*ferbores*), such as those of the students in Coimbra, are often symptoms of inner fragility, maintained Xavier, and make one prey to temptations, but the tumultuous maritime passage to India could cure them even before their arrival. Left without fervors, those who had not fortified themselves through abnegation could become disconsolate and disoriented and harbor the desire to be somewhere else, which is counter to the principle of obedience. Hence, they would become useless in their mission of helping other souls. Xavier's circular argumentation brings into play over and over the same elements (humility, obedience, temptation, fervor, spiritual help, etc.) in order to add layers of psychological clothing to the space he had initially defined as empty (of the world).

There is a problem with this ideal Jesuit soul, empty of passions but dressed in the diaphanous veils of prescribed virtues and waiting for the holy word to leave its trace in the form of a decision. As de Certeau detected in the mystic speech of seventeenth-century spiritual writers, the divine word is forever inaudible, and the spiritual fortune seeker is doomed to actually hear his or her own voice. Reflexive verbs, such as "to hear oneself," "to speak to oneself," "to see oneself," and "to conquer oneself," are witnesses to the interior cleavage and psychological drama representing the battle between the holy and the human. The real danger for the souls of the Jesuit missionaries, as both Loyola and Xavier saw it, lay precisely in this interior cleavage, a sort of a no-man's-land inhabited by the enemy. "I live with much fear that Lucifer, by using his many tricks, having transfigured himself into the angel of light, gives trouble to some of you . . . and gives you false hopes . . . and makes you lose your time."[126] The quest for inner dialogue with the divine is

therefore fraught with demonic traps or shortcuts to the fulfillment of desires, both spiritual and corporeal. While denouncing devilish shortcuts, Loyola and Xavier, on the other hand, proposed their own, fashioned very closely on those of their enemy. In the *Journal of Interior Motion,* Loyola defined the enemy in relation to the immutable God as "mobile and changing," and then he took mobility as the principle strategy of the Jesuit ministry.[127] Similarly, Loyola invited his corps of curators of souls to behave with them in the following way: "The enemy enters with the other and comes out with him" (el enemigo entra con el otro y sale consigo).[128] Although Ignatian tradition partly clarified and partly obscured this cryptic passage by adding the word *door* to it—for example, "the enemy enters through the door of the other in order to make one come out through his own"—it continues to pose problems to translators and exegetes.[129] The metaphor probably crept in from the biblical images of Christ standing at the door (Rev. 3:20), images that the Spiritual Exercises employ and configure at every step of the Ignatian interior journey. The door is the mark of the limit, or even edge, on which Jesuits conceived their missionary field—either on geographical frontiers or by probing into the depth of the individual consciousness. Being on the threshold, being betwixt and between, is to be experienced during the four weeks of spiritual exercises, before being put into practice as a strategy in the social and political sphere and in order to serve as a gatekeeping device against demonic deception.

The in-and-out movement for the purpose of emptying or exorcizing the soul of paganism, sin, demons, and the unclean appears in all Jesuit missionary texts. The syncopated rhythm of missionary progression is reported as following the same procedure. With the sacrament of communion, Xavier wrote to Barzaeus that the sinners "will be helped to come out (*sair-se*) of their errors themselves."[130] But if they do not, he continued, they have to be brought to (*trazer*) the point of becoming capable of achieving salvation.[131] Other measures were to "excavate [or hollow out] the souls (*cavar nas almas*)" and "to drag them out of sin (*as tirar do peccado*)." If for a moment we bracket off the door metaphor and go back to the simple Ignatian *entrar con el otro,* meaning entering *with* the other, we get a clearer picture of the extent to which the foundations of Jesuit interior alchemy were based on solid psychological, sociological, and ethnographic knowledge. Xavier was well aware of this when he advised Barzaeus: "In no other way will you make much profit in the souls of men in that town (Hurmuz) un-

less you know their lives in detail and this is the principal study (*estudo*) which helps profit the souls."[132] Xavier elaborated even further the strategies of what we might call today, in anthropological jargon, *participant observation*. One was to live, eat, and converse with the "others" long enough, before beginning to convert them. The others, or, in Xavier's terminology, the neighbors (*proximos*), were like living books (*livros vivos*) to be read and experienced by the missionaries. His anti-intellectual bias, especially against university education—very different from Loyola's respect for higher learning—opposed living books to dead books (*livros mortos*), which should be used only to "authorize what you say against vices" but which do not teach anything about how to fructify the souls. Still shrouded in theology and teleology since, according to Xavier, "you should not trust knowledge or human opinion," unwittingly his laconically offered distinction between dead and living books announced an epistemological and cognitive break in the understanding of the structure of the social world that was still to be articulated. He was a man of experience, as he often repeated, and that led him to coin some remarkably fresh ad hoc opinions.

"Entrar con el otro" was also written on the war banner directed against closely knit family and communal ties, as historians of early modern Europe have exemplified in detail. Xavier's immediate successors, who had mastered local languages, were left to deal with intricate communal issues in their respective fields among the new Asian Christians and neophytes, or even among the Portuguese settlers, while the apostle himself, unable to cross the linguistic threshold, focused exclusively on breaking into the private and/or family sphere of Portuguese or "mixed" casados, officials, soldiers, and solteiros. His intrusion behind the "inner doors," as we might tentatively translate the often recurring concept of the *portas adentro*—signifying in Jesuit texts of the period a private, domestic space that sheltered a male patriarch and his retinue consisting variously of a wife and/or concubines, children, servants, and slaves—was geared to liberating the male (European or semi-European) subject from "irrational" relationships fostered by such an environment. The same term was also applied to the "domestic" sphere of a monastery or of a Jesuit college.[133]

In the Portuguese Asian colonial context, family privacy and domesticity were perceived as a breeding ground of paganism, closely connected with a feminized lack of self-control. A new European male subject, with all his cognitive ups and downs as colonial and postcolonial

historiography has shown, was in the making through the consistent Jesuit project of interior individualization and emancipation from kinship ties. On the discursive surface covering the Jesuit alchemy of souls glitter notions and practices perceived as unquestionably universal essences of the divinely inspirited human creatures, such as love and friendship. In Xavier's letters, however, love does not appear either in its Platonic or its Christian substantive ideal state, but as a verb or an action in the process of connecting and establishing communication between different agents. In addition, according to the Jesuit prescription, love can and should turn into a permanent missionary attributive quality. One is to strive to be loved rather than simply love (one's neighbor).

Informed about the haughty behavior of António Gomes, a Portuguese Jesuit in charge of the Santa Fé college in Goa, Xavier sent him a mild warning from Japan, written in his own hand in November 1549. At the end of the letter he stressed the need to be loved.

> For the love of Our Lord I ask you to make yourself much loved (*que vos façais amar*) by all the Brothers of the Company, as much by those who are in the house as those outside, by letters. . . . Among other things I would be most happy to know that all the Brothers of the Company love you very much, those who are in the house as much as those outside, because I would not be satisfied in knowing that you love them, but only in knowing that you are loved by them.[134]

The need to stress the same point twice in one paragraph should have indicated clearly to his addressee that Xavier harbored some doubt about Gomes's ability to make himself loved.

Xavier repeatedly gave the same advice to Francisco Mansilhas in 1544 concerning the latter's missionary fieldwork among the Paravas on the Fishery Coast.[135] However, what he called love appears consistently as a pragmatic strategy toward a particular goal of producing more fruit in the souls and of rendering a greater service to God. In addition to its strategic role, love is also a technique of Jesuit "impression management." To continue in line with Erving Goffman's sociological intuitions, love is a performance enacted throughout the Jesuit Asian theater of conversion. Its universal appeal in most though, alas, not all cases, such as those that led to Jesuit martyrdom, helped Jesuits maintain their front-stage pose even in situations in which they utterly lacked any workable socioethnographic knowledge or psychological skills.

Thus, during his first apostolate in Japan in 1549, when his hopes for the Japanese propensity to Christianity were still high because he had underestimated the importance of indigenous religious practices—partly because his informant, Anjiro, misconstrued Japanese cultural elements to fit the apostle's wishful thinking—Xavier wrote to Micer Paulo in Goa, "If the two *bonzes* [Japanese Buddhist priests] who are on their way to Melaka this year were to arrive there [Goa] . . . show them much love (*mucho amor*), just as I did with Paulo (Anjiro) . . . because they are people who can only be led by love. Do not be rigorous with them."[136] In the missionary vocabulary of the period, *love* and *rigor* were not necessarily semantic opposites. A rhetorician might have regarded the rigor of mercy (*rigor de misericórdia*) as an oxymoron, but a zealous missionary would not have since, at least from the 1540s onward, this term denoted Portuguese conversion efforts and goals throughout their Goan territories.[137] The fact that Xavier surreptitiously made a distinction between love and the rigor of mercy betrays his new understanding of cultural diversity, at least in terms of appropriate conversion strategies. What he called love in 1549—a certain muddled and ever-imperfect way of mutual surrender—would ultimately be transformed into *accommodation* at a later stage and by later actors.

The friendship so often invoked in Jesuit texts is usually identified with love in a typical Stoic tradition. However, Cicero's or, in his steps, Montaigne's definition of love as "the attempt to form a friendship inspired by beauty" was not the point Jesuits were seeking to make or to teach.[138] A friend in the Jesuit social dramaturgy was conceived of as a chessboard figure to be manipulated or even sacrificed for the purpose of winning the game. Obviously, winning friends was at first of utmost importance. From Yamaguchi, Xavier reported in early 1552 that the new converts, most of whom were aristocrats (*fidalgos*), "became our friends, to an extent I cannot even describe to you."[139] We can only infer what is beyond description from Xavier's other statements concerning the display of friendship toward him. His saintly persona became something of a public spectacle, the early figure of a modern star attracting crowds of fans and onlookers. Often he had to put in extra hours of preaching and confessing in order to satisfy his local audience. When he had to refuse confessions in Melaka for lack of time, some people were cross with him (*estavan muchos mal comigo*). But, according to Xavier, what appeared at first sight as enmity to him was in fact enmity to sins.[140]

The excess of friendship was not won overnight, not even by Xavier, but was a result of hard work and dramaturgical discipline and presence of mind, which comes out clearly in various pointers and tips continually given as advice to other missionaries: they had to behave in a friendly manner to everyone, in particular to various Portuguese administrative and ecclesiastical officials, as well as to other religious orders. His special advice was, in a perfect Ignatian tradition, not to forget to behave toward others "as if they were to become your enemies."[141] A century later another Jesuit, Baltasar Gracián, in his self-fashioning manual *Oráculo manual y arte de la prudencia* (1648), would add even thicker folds and finer coloring to the curtain the Jesuits erected before their ideal baroque individual in order to foreclose his or her mirrorlike but empty interior and help him or her outwit omnipresent social predators. In this scheme of things, friendship and love are only masks worn for the occasion, a fact that does not invalidate the ultimate ideal but merely betrays a doubt, often without cynicism, about their terrestrial manifestations. What logically follows is that friendship is only a temporary intersubjective position that even the smallest imbalance could convert into enmity. This is why, in fact, more than with friends, Jesuits were obsessed with their enemies, whose every gesture they thought worth capturing, dissecting, and ultimately, if necessary, dissembling. Since hatred and envy of the other serve as a mirror to one's soul, Gracián maintained that a wise man can profit more from his enemies than from his friends.

While curing and shoring up souls required an endless elaboration and authorization of multiple psychological, social, and epistemic "fictions," the need to preserve the body was a straightforward prescription that both Loyola and Xavier kept on hammering into the heads of their coreligionists.[142] Even the ultimate vow of obedience to the pope concerning the choice of the mission could be overruled in the case of ill health. According to the *Constitutions,*

> Although our vocation is to travel through the world and to live in any part of it whatsoever where there is hope of greater service to God and of help to souls, nevertheless, if it becomes apparent through experience that someone cannot bear the circumstances of some region and continues in bad health there, it will be the superior's part to consider whether the subject ought to be transferred to another place.[143]

For the same reason, all excesses of piety and mortification of the body—lack of sleep due to night prayers, long fasts, flagellation, or other types of personal penance—were discouraged, even proscribed. After having inflicted various austerities on his own body in the early phase of his spiritual quest, Loyola was quite suspicious of their spiritual and/or moral effects. The path to follow, he maintained, was a middle path (*mediocritas*), strictly avoiding extremes, since the body was after all a gift of God and should be cherished as such. Hence, various Jesuit prescriptions advocate taking good care of individual bodies, reserving hours for recreation, vacation, and a fair standard of living.[144]

The geography of Asia was itself considered inherently insalubrious and laborious. From the tropical climate of South and Southeast Asia to the dry plains of Africa and harsh winters of Japan, the mission territory was generally defined as very trying (*terra muito trabalhosa*). Describing his Indian impressions to Simão Rodrigues in Lisbon, Xavier added that the country "requires healthy bodies and much strength" and followed this with an invitation to come and see for himself "if your corporeal strength is as strong as your spiritual strength."[145] In view of the exhausting daily missionary work, "this is . . . a country (*tierra*) for young men who are not too old."[146] In 1545, Xavier estimated that the Jesuits should send to Goa good preachers and confessors of good physical and spiritual disposition and that for the infidels (*infieles*) no "letters" (*letras*) were necessary.[147] For such faraway and difficult destinations as the islands of the Moluccas, the appropriate missionaries to be chosen were those who "have neither letters [learning] nor talent to join the Company [i.e., to become professed fathers], but have enough knowledge and talent for these parts, if they want to come and live and die with these people."[148] These were, of course, appropriate but not ideal missionaries. The endemic shortage of learned Jesuit missionaries in Asia, especially those who had completed their education in Europe, combined with Xavier's reluctance to accept both local Portuguese and native candidates remained a problem.[149] The situation appeared to have been so desperate in 1549 that he wrote to Loyola to send him anyone from the Society, without higher learning or talent for preaching, "who would not be missed there, either in Rome or in any other place, [because] it seems to me that here they would better serve God if they are well mortified and have much experience, as well as the superior virtues required for helping these infidels; more than anything, if they are chaste and have age and physical strength to

carry out great works in these places."[150] One lesson was, nevertheless, learned: while only a few years earlier Xavier demanded that young Jesuits be sent to Asia, at this point he was not favorable to those who were too young (*adulescentuli*) and inexperienced. He informed Simão Rodrigues that the best age for the missionaries in Asia was between thirty and forty.[151]

A healthy body was, obviously, perceived as an important tool in the missionary enterprise. Thus, for the next two centuries after Xavier's arrival, Jesuit correspondence from Asia was filled with minute descriptions of missionary ailments. Every excess of or in the body was recorded and questioned, as if it were a sign of the divine voice. The missionary personnel catalogues contained a special rubric concerning physical and mental health, while the beginning of individual Jesuit letters almost always mentioned some bodily problem. There was, however, no normalized discourse on sickness and health. Either a strong body or, inversely, one in chronic pain could be taken as a sign of special grace. In fact, since physical suffering and missionary success were perfectly compatible, various permutations in bodily condition were possible. One could start one's missionary career, like Roberto Nobili in 1606, with an almost mortal illness and gradually recover health, proving one's sanctity by virtue of one's recovery, or on the other hand, if one's health gradually deteriorated, an equally saintly explanation could be found. The fever that killed Xavier on the island of Sanciam was attributed to the indiscernible divine economy of sanctity.

While bodily conditions were difficult to control except by prescribing moderation in missionary lifestyle, the question of Jesuit education was more complicated. Not everyone agreed with Xavier that "unlettered" missionaries were just as good for Asia. In the words of Nicolò Lancilotto, one of the first Jesuits to arrive after Xavier, in 1546, the local ecclesiastical authorities were quite disappointed with the new batch: "Maestro Diogo [de Borba] and maestro Paulo [de Camerino] had desired learned men for the [teaching of the] doctrine of this house [Jesuit college], as for the edification of the city [Goa], and were much consoled with our coming; they thought that we [Antonio Criminale and Juan de Beira] would respond to their desires, but a little later, as soon as we showed them our ignorance and nescience of books, they remained cold and unfriendly."[152] Xavier's apostolic experience among the Japanese made him change his mind, at least concerning his Far Eastern field. Increasingly, he saw both Japanese and Chinese as them-

selves civilized people for whom only learned Jesuits were to be employed. In 1552, he wrote to Simão Rodrigues: "First of all, they should be very experienced in these labors in which they both proved themselves and gained great profit; and second, they should be learned in order to be able to both preach and confess, and in order to answer the many questions that the pagan priests will never cease to ask them in Japan and in China."[153]

Those of the Jesuits who, like Lancilotto and Henrique Henriques, remained in India but away from Goa soon discovered that their missionary field was as trying as that in Japan. In their own right and directly addressing Loyola in Rome, they demanded well-educated Jesuits, professed and experienced fathers to be sent to their own missions.[154] The general consensus was, therefore, that a missionary was to be a true early modern Christian athlete or gladiator—muscled, young, literate, and, one could add, highly articulate.[155] Dying too early in the mission because of one's caprice (excessive mortification or a reckless search for martyrdom) was considered a waste of both human and divine time (and money, considering the costs of the Jesuit education and of transportation to Asia). One had to endure as long as possible in the fight against the darkness of paganism. For Xavier personally, staying in one place was equal to "losing his time," as he clearly pointed out in 1549, but when his subordinates refused to either leave for the mission or to remain in it, he swiftly dismissed them from the Society of Jesus in spite of the dearth of personnel.[156] As a veteran traveler who had just reached Japan, Xavier warned his missionary corps against an excessive desire to travel and against changing mission stations too often. It was the work of the demon to produce great zeal (*fervores*) and expectations in the heart of the missionaries, only to make them long for better or more profitable missions. "I fear that the enemy may disturb some of you by proposing difficult and great services to God for which you would have to go to regions other than where you are. The demon orders all this so as to distress and sadden you because you are not producing fruit, neither in your soul nor in those of your neighbors in the regions where you are, making you feel that you are losing your time."[157] Obviously, the same rules did not apply to Xavier himself, whose endless search for an ideal mission sent him from one place to another. The advice he volunteered was advice he would never take himself.

In any case, behind his gentle recommendations often stood his controlling and authoritarian will. Moreover, the principle of obedience

was applied strictly and to the letter. Among those dismissed in 1552, just before his final voyage to the Far East, were also two missionaries, Manuel de Morais and Francisco Gonçalves, who had left their mission in the Moluccas without permission.[158] Jesuit residences on the Moluccan Islands were among the most difficult Jesuit missions in Asia. Only a few missionaries were able to retain a sound constitution after this missionary experience, which ranged from unbearable solitude to earthquakes and volcanoes. Two of the pioneers in the mission, Alfonso de Castro and Juan de Beira, sent by Xavier, terminated their missionary careers there, the first by losing his life as a martyr in 1558, the second by losing his mind. He was sent back to Goa to die in 1564.[159]

The Scramble for the Sacred Body

In order to define the way he envisaged the individual demonstration of Jesuit obedience, Loyola pronounced his famous *ac cadaver,* as a corpse. In 1553, Loyola was determined to bring Xavier back to Europe before he became a major embarrassment in Portuguese Asia, as Simão Rodrigues was to become in Portugal. Xavier's spiritual charisma, combined with authoritarian gestures, was probably beginning to breed suspicion in the Roman headquarters of the Society of Jesus.[160] Hence, "by virtue of sacred obedience" (*en virtud de santa obendientia*), Loyola pleaded with Xavier to return to Portugal where he was needed to promote, advise, and organize missions throughout the world. While Loyola was composing this brief carrot-and-stick message, little did he know that his Parisian colleague and Indian apostle was already dead and that, even in this last demand, he would remain disobedient to his Roman general.[161] Except for his right arm, a mangled bone with some flesh on it, Xavier would never return to Europe. By the end of the month of June 1553, just as Loyola was putting the final touches on this letter concerning this delicate matter, Xavier's body lay buried in the nave of the Nossa Senhora do Monte in Melaka.[162]

Xavier's body, in fact, continued a life of its own in Asia, as a whole and in pieces (i.e., as relics that were taken to the most remote regions and endowed with special, magical powers). The veneration accorded to him during his lifetime grew into frenzy when he died, and just about everybody involved in the Portuguese Asian enterprise tried to establish, appropriate, or claim some connection with the *Padre Santo* or

Padre Grande, as he used to be called. His travels, which appeared at the time as single or repeated events of his presence and/or absence, turned after his death into gestures of territorial sanctification—as if he were reclaiming land from the pagans, infidels, and other enemies of the Catholic Church. Hence a fierce competition ensued to obtain something from the Santo, who was still more than half a century away from his official canonization. This something could be, for example, a glimpse of his corpse, a fragment of an object that had rubbed against his body, a flake of his skin, or a letter written or signed by him.

In more than one sense, *the Body,* as Goans lovingly address St. Francis Xavier today, engendered a mythical structure erecting European/Christian boundaries in a non-European/non-Christian cartography. The recurring, mostly Jesuit, descriptions of the state and the use of Xavier's relic during the two Jesuit centuries in Portuguese Asia until around the 1750s, when the members of the Society of Jesus were eliminated from the missionary and political field, reflected the vocabulary and the imagery associated with the construction of Christian boundaries and communities. It is no wonder, then, that from 1553 until the apostle's official canonization in 1622, the freshness and full-bloodedness of his remains were underscored in all official and private written reports.

The day after the arrival of the solemn funeral procession from the church of Ribandar to the College of St. Paul in Goa on March 16, 1554, two Portuguese officials were appointed to examine the state of Xavier's corpse. Doutor Cosme de Saraiva, Viceroy Dom Affonso de Noronha's physician, and Doutor Ambrósio Ribeiro, the vicar general and the administrator of the Goan bishopric, opened the coffin at nine o'clock in the morning and found to their amazement that, even thirteen months after his first burial, his flesh was "with substance and humid through the major part of his body."[163] According to their belated post mortem report, the surface of the skin was covered with multiple punctures and coagulated blood, but his intestines showed no sign of "embalming or [that] any other artificial device (*cousa*) [had been used] to preserve him from corruption."

Besides the official touch, many other people rushed in to feel the body, which had already acquired an unofficial aura of sanctity. In addition, Cosme de Saraiva invited two Jesuit brothers to insert their fingers into one of the wounds described as being "on the left-hand side, close to the heart, and as they stuck them [their fingers] in, out

came the blood," which had a pleasant smell.[164] One of the two brothers, António Dias, wrote from Melaka in 1554 about this experience, but he clearly stated that he had put his finger into Xavier's stomach (*bariga*) and touched his intestines (*tripas*), which had not been taken out when he died, and that the liquid he brought out was *ingoento vermelho* (red unguent), "which smelled pleasantly."[165] Ambrósio Ribeiro, a certified physician and a layperson, reported introducing his own fingers into the stomach wound and finding little bits and pieces of dried intestines.[166] With canonization efforts gaining momentum, the lowly stomach opening was seamlessly raised to a chest wound, and even Ribeiro corrected his deposition.[167]

The visibility and tactility of Xavier's remains reestablished the link, often tenuous in Portuguese Asia, between the social body and the sacred, between the communitas and institutionalized Catholicism.[168] Through the medium of Xavier's mortal remains, his pious devotees sought to reestablish connections and networks in both the mundane and the celestial spheres. The liquid flowing from his wounds and the sundered openings incarnated instantly the discourse on the presence, utility, and desirability of the sacred. In addition to expressing a conventional sign of holiness, by remaining uncorrupted, full of gushing, sweet-scented blood, the apostle's "miraculously" preserved body was proof of the fundamental unity of the Portuguese Asian communities.[169] The presence of Xavier's ever-fresh and saintly blood each time his corpse had been moved, from Sanciam to Goa via Melaka, also tells of the fears and expectations felt by the Christian and especially Portuguese communities, both secular and religious, in the middle of the century. Other than its rather too obvious function as a metaphor of colonial plenitude, blood was also perceived as a substance representing public authority, which appeared to have been in constant jeopardy of being diluted by geographical distances. Allowed to flow freely from Xavier's wounds into virtually anybody's hands until his final "burial" in 1554, when the Jesuits in Goa made sure that very few people had access to the body, his blood engendered, marked, and shored up moments of communitas. From March 16 to 18, 1554, the large crowd of devotees prevented Jesuit keepers from removing the body from public display.

According to Father Melchior Nunes Barreto, the Indian vice-provincial, "All the people stood, I think some five to six thousand souls, and did not want to move away from the church, if we did not show them the body; and so we showed it. There was such great devo-

tion of the people and admiration, and it was one more of those things one can see in this life thanks to our Lord. Some cried, others pounded their chests while asking God to forgive their sins, others made efforts wishing to touch the body of the blessed Father with their rosaries and other objects."[170] However, this pious manifestation soon turned into unruly behavior. The crowd in the church broke the grating and rushed "not only to kiss his feet" but also to grab and tear away pieces of relics. Not until the middle of the night were the Jesuits finally able to close the doors of the church of the old College of St. Paul.

Another witness, Aires Brandão, wrote to the Jesuits in Coimbra that the body was displayed for four days and nights and that people came two and even three times to see it.[171] The worst excess of devotion occurred when a respected matron, Isabel de Carom, pretending to kiss the saint's feet, surreptitiously bit off the little toe of his right foot (fig. 5). According to the preferred story told by a woman who witnessed the event, the trace of blood coming from Isabel's mouth betrayed her action.[172] She willed that one part of her stolen treasure be bestowed on the Jesuits after her death. This particular relic, according to Francisco de Sousa, used to be displayed and paraded in his time during important public processions in Goa.[173] To atone for her theft without restoring the entire article, she offered to the saint a silver diadem encrusted with precious stones worth fifteen hundred xerafins. Given the price provided for one part, in an ideal commercial world one could calculate the price of the whole body at a particular moment of time, but such calculation is impossible with relics since every part stands or can be taken to stand for the whole. In fact, during the next two centuries, the Goans had to resist quite considerable pressure to repatriate the body to Lisbon. Francisco de Sousa, a Jesuit historian from the early eighteenth century, reasoned carefully against its removal from India since the sacred corpse was needed to help decadent Portuguese Asia from falling into "pitiful ruin" (*lastimosas ruinas*).[174]

By the time Francisco de Sousa wrote his *Oriente conquistado*, there were no more fluids streaming through Xavier's body. The author himself seems to have had doubts about the certificates issued by Doutor Ambrósio Ribeiro and Doutor Cosme Saraiva. "Some would like [to think] that blood and water spouted from his side wound; but this does not emerge from authentic certificates, nor is it preserved in the tradition of this province."[175] On the other hand, the same Jesuit historian vehemently resented the divisions and mutilations of Xavier's corpse.

These were like a second martyrdom that "his virginal body experienced after death."[176]

From the second half of the seventeenth century on, those who had access to Xavier's body, mostly Jesuit superiors and some important officials of the Estado da Índia, all lamented the sorry state of his remains. Reports of the rapid decay of Xavier's body were coterminous with official and unofficial accounts and statements concerning the decadência of the Portuguese "empire" in India. The loss of the Portuguese territorial possessions of Malabar, Sri Lanka, and Kanara, and of important trading foci such as Melaka, Hurmuz, and Maskat, continued in fact to strengthen the role of Goa as the central hub of the Portuguese enterprise. The more economic difficulties and political setbacks shook up and reshuffled Portuguese Asian projects and aspirations from 1660 on, the more the rich treasury that was St. Xavier's body gained in sacred aura, but also, according to general consensus, the more its preservation became a constant preoccupation.[177] While, during the spontaneous communitas experience of 1554, the devotees were able to touch, kiss, and bite parts of his body or to feel his full-blooded intestines with their own hands (one of the two Jesuit brothers, António Dias, reportedly wiped the blood from his fingers on a book), from the seventeenth century on, special permission had to be given to see the body, and the Jesuits were in general reluctant to allow access to his remains.[178]

Instead of direct vision, from 1698 on, the pious pilgrims and supplicants were encouraged to find spiritual inspiration by gazing at the monument made of fine Tuscan marble and donated by Archduke Cosimo III de' Medici and at a silver coffin containing Xavier's earthly remains, produced by local craftsmen and embellished by thirty-two significant scenes from the saint's life.[179] The tactile, full-blooded experience of the sacred was thus replaced by visual stimuli. It was the aesthetic impulse that could lead the spectator from a mere sighting to ecstatic spiritual vision. Following this logic of representation, often defined as baroque, even before Xavier's official canonization, Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605) allowed the production and distribution of paintings, effigies, and engravings, decorated if possible with precious stones and, in the words of Sebastião Gonçalves, adorned *com resplendor* (with halo).[180] The proliferation of sacred images made "the people of India renew the devotion that they had had before for the Blessed Father and, through him, Our Lord began to perform many miracles."[181]

From 1603 to 1610, according to Gonçalves, these multiple sacred

objects, at times combined with relics, connected various often heterogeneous Christian sites in Asia as well as in Europe, as if newly recharged by some electric fluid. Hence, as if revived by some new invisible blood, Christian geography spawned miracles. From Kottar in Kerala to Naples in Italy, Xavier appeared in visions and dreams, curing and consoling and investing all his earthly remains with powerful presence. Gonçalves himself felt that a minor miracle occurred in his own soul and led him to embark on his project of writing the history of the Jesuit order in Asia. Of course, this was precisely the time when Jesuits intensified their efforts before the closure of the canonization process in Rome, for which hagiographic materials were indispensable. Next to Gonçalves's manuscript of *História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus,* on a homebound ship to Lisbon, perhaps by chance, the Jesuits carefully deposited a very precious package containing the real thing—Xavier's right hand, which was encased, enshrined, and displayed above the altar of the side chapel in the Gesù in Rome.

The dismemberment of the holy body continued and studiously articulated the privileged relationship between the body and the community. Thus, in 1619, three small pieces of what was left of the apostle's right arm were extracted. One was sent to Cochin, another to Melaka, and the third to Japan via Macau, an important trading center in China with a dynamic and ambitious Portuguese community.[182] According to António Bocarro, in 1635 "there were 850 Portuguese [*cazados*] and their sons, who have the best disposition and are the strongest (*robustos*) of all those who can be found in the Orient."[183] From his assessment, it is also clear that the commercial activities of the town were conducted with much independence from the official, central government in Goa and that the rich solteiros and casados of Macau avoided Goa like the plague. However, if the political community of the Portuguese settlers in Asia seemed to have been divided, since Bocarro also hinted at Macau's unalloyed support and service to His Majesty, Philip II, compared to the generally anti-Spanish viceroys in Goa, the religious community eagerly participated in the all-Asia network through which the holy objects, symbols, and imagery were exchanged, peddled, and recreated. Thus, the *tufões,* that is, "strong winds that uproot trees and slam people to the ground," calmed considerably as soon as the piece of Xavier's right arm reached Macau in 1619.[184] The same effect was attributed to Xavier's entire relic on the maritime passage from Sanciam to Melaka during the 1550s.

Encased in a silver urn in Macau, the relic made its way to Japan, but not for long.[185] Japanese political and social dynamics, combined with European colonial and ecclesiastical divisions in Asia, reformulated the terms and conditions that had initially enabled swift Jesuit conquest of some of the southern regions, such as the island of Kyushu. The most promising country of conversion, which, at one point or another, both Francis Xavier and Alessandro Valignano considered the most civilized and therefore ready to join the Christian fold, already showed signs of hostility to the foreign intruders by the end of the sixteenth century. The situation had not improved at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Tokugawa Ieyasu, the third of the Great Unifiers, finally made up his mind to put an end to the religion of the "southern barbarians" (*Nanban*).[186] The provisions of the edict of 1614, specifying that all foreign priests be expelled from the country, were not strictly applied until 1616, when Ieyasu's successor, Hidetada, took over the reins.

Xavier's helping hand was thus urgently needed to calm the storms of persecution, whose clouds were already visible on the horizon. Time was running out, however, and ultimately the small piece of the Padre Santo's right arm, accompanied by Japanese Christian refugees and Jesuit missionaries, had to be repatriated to Macau.[187] The restoration of a *bakufu* (shadow) government by the Tokugawa dynasty closed (*sakoku*) the country for almost two and a half centuries. With all political and social networks closed to Jesuit infiltration, whatever holy sap or galvanizing blood sustained Christian Japanese communities was spent in the violent tortures and persecutions of the 1630s. Individuals and communities apostatized, while those who persevered did so only until their execution. In the process, new "indigenous" Japanese relics were produced on the spot, which, in their turn, had to be exiled from the hostile territory and found refuge in Macau. St. Francis Xavier Church in Coloane, in Macau, preserved some nineteen cases of bones of the early seventeenth-century Japanese martyrs.[188]

Xavier's holy touch combined with thousands of holy martyrs was not enough either to preserve or to resuscitate the Christian communities of Japan in the face of the adamant and strong political and military authority of the Tokugawas. In addition, the two pieces of Xavier's right arm proved to be powerless against the Dutch military forces. In 1641, after five months of siege, the city of Melaka was lost, while two decades later, in 1663, the same fate befell Cochin and, in a way,

Xavier's two relics. All traces of their existence were henceforth lost from the pages of Jesuit hagiographies and histories. Of course, there was still much to be invented and multiplied from the remaining pieces of the sacred body.

Generally, however, the sacred energy invested in relics seemed to have thrived only in established, relatively secure Christian territories. Their *praesentia* and potentia depended on a solid social consensus shored up by religious specialists and lay and secular authorities.[189] As the biggest and most firmly established Portuguese enclave in Asia, Goa was the best of all places to guard the source of the holy energy that nourished the segmented territories of the Estado da Índia.

The ultimate and lasting achievement of Francis Xavier was, perhaps, not what he did during his lifetime but what was done with his body after his death. His tomb became the center of Catholic Asia. Moreover, as the "real" commercial and administrative town of Goa began to crumble by the end of the seventeenth century due to a mixture of ecological, medical, economic, and military disasters, only ecclesiastical structures were preserved, with the tomb of St. Francis Xavier in the very center. In Francisco de Sousa's words, in 1710, Goa was "the wretched *head* of a poor and miserable State. With a lack of commerce after Dutch victories, which amputated its *hands* from Cochin to Melaka and due to Portugal's neglect, it is so ruined and so much deserted that its ancient grandeur can be guessed only from the magnificence of the convents and churches, which are yet preserved with great splendor and veneration."[190]

The disintegration of the urban body made it imperative to preserve the "sacred" body of the capital, which, according to Sousa's testimony, was not in the best of shape, since its flesh was almost completely consumed. In a letter addressed to the general of the Society of Jesus in Rome, he demanded that the silver coffin be locked forever.[191] But each new Jesuit provincial appeared to have opened and extracted some relics for his personal use or as gifts to powerful Portuguese officials and families.[192] In 1755, the king of Portugal ordered that the coffin not be opened without his special permission.[193] The imposition of royal jurisdiction on this most eminent Jesuit possession in Goa was just the beginning of the end, and four years later, the Marquis de Pombal (1699–1782) ordered the expulsion of the Jesuit order from Portugal.

With the departure of the Jesuits, who in Lisbon and in Goa were made the ultimate scapegoats for the collapse of the Portuguese "empire," the architectural disintegration of the old Portuguese capital in

Asia accelerated until no "profane" building was left and many ecclesiastical structures fell into ruin as well.[194] A new administrative town, Panjim, appeared farther down the Mandovi River, and in the words of Richard F. Burton in the middle of the nineteenth century, "like the modern Romans, they [the Portuguese] found it cheaper to carry away cut stone [from Goa], than to quarry it; but unlike the inhabitants of the eternal City, they have now no grand object in preserving the ruins."[195] British perceptions of the southerners in the middle of the nineteenth century allowed for comparative permutations between Italians (Spaniards, Portuguese, Africans, etc.) and Indians. Reductive simplifications scattered throughout Burton's typical colonial travelogue were aimed at telescoping the worlds of the other into an easily comprehensible narrative. The play of resemblance was a way of stabilizing geographical, cultural, aesthetic, and racial differences. Hence, his complete incomprehension of the local political and religious landscape. The overall sense one gets from his fixed authorial gaze is of the irreversible state of social, moral, and religious decay. As if applying a photographic camera, avant la lettre, Burton developed a series of pictures, each typifying one or the other static sign of decadence.

Concerning the tomb and the body of St. Francis Xavier, this great connoisseur and admirer of native bodies observed and distinguished only epidermal pathology and animality.[196] "His saintship, however, is no longer displayed to reverential gazers in mummy or 'scalded pig' form."[197] In fact, before the end of the decade, the holy powers of Xavier's relic would be employed again in the struggle between the local Christian elite and the *descendentes* (Creole nobility).[198] In 1859, almost a century after the last public display of the body in 1782, the saint recovered at once his healing credibility, miraculous force, and fund-raising enthusiasm. The church of Bom Jesus had to be open day and night and one week longer than initially planned for the endless procession of devotees (fig. 6). According to Fonseca, writing precisely while the second public exposition in the nineteenth century was taking place (sometime between December 3, 1877, and January 6, 1878), some two hundred thousand people came from all over India, and "the offerings in money to the shrine of the saint amounted to nearly 1,000 pounds," and "Goa appeared at this time to have risen from its ruins full of life and glory, such as it displayed in the days of its prosperity, when it was the chief emporium of trade in the East."[199]

A new life for the body of the Gõycho Saib (the Lord of Goa), or

Gõycho Pai (the Father of Goa) began in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the first place, since 1859 and approximately every ten years, St. Xavier's body was presented in public display around the time of his annual canonical celebration (December 3). The last "solemn exposition of the relics of St. Francis Xavier" took place from November 21, 1994, until January 7, 1995 (see fig. 6).[200] In the brochure with color pictures (*A Souvenir*), published by the exposition committee, Archbishop-Patriarch Raul Nicolau Gonsalves announced the event as an ecumenical happening since "even non-Christians in large numbers are eager to have a *darshan* of the Saint by coming closer to the relics of his body and do come to him with confidence."[201] He also bestowed a blessing on all those who read his message by "invok[ing] on all our sisters and brothers—whatever faith or community they may belong to—God's choicest blessings through the intercession of St. Francis Xavier."

Xavier's body is now integrated into the Indian religious and cultural landscape. His tomb is one of the many sacred spots visited by pilgrims in search of divine help for health problems, sterility, and, less commonly, spiritual enlightenment. Enshrined in Goa in 1554 to enliven both Catholic devotion and the Portuguese colonial capital in Asia, until 1961 its destiny was closely tied with that of the Estado da Índia. On exceptional occasions, the holy corpse took over the secular role of the protector or savior of the territory. According to the tradition, during the interim period before the new investiture ceremony, the departing Portuguese governors or viceroys used to deposit the governing rod at the feet of the saint in Bom Jesus. Similarly, at times of external threat, Xavier was often appointed chief of staff of the defense squadron.[202] The four hundredth anniversary of Xavier's death was celebrated with pomp and ostentation in 1952, in the wake of increasing pressure on the Portuguese to cede the territory to newly established, independent India. Around that time, a banderole was attached to the facade just above the entrance to Bom Jesus: "Depois de orar na igreja do Bom Jesus todo o Português pode combater contra 10 ou contra 1000."[203]

However, if Xavier's sacred power and presence in Goa transformed the local inhabitants into staunch Catholics, his political authority failed to forge a sense of Portuguese national identity among the Goans. When the Indian army poured into Goa in 1961, claiming the role of protector rather than conqueror, the whole Portuguese political structure collapsed within two days.[204] With the disappearance of the Portuguese,

Xavier finally became indigenized and joined a pantheon of Indian local, immovable deities whose *darshan* (i.e., vision of and perception by the deity) attracts pilgrims from all over India.[205] In his double role today as a Christian saint and Indian deity, a combination far from being inalterable in the future, Xavier again commands, confers honors, protects, heals, and so on. Catholic spiritual praxis, imaginary and ritual, is therefore in no way incompatible with the fertile, tropical ground of the Indian devotional tradition. Elsewhere, along the coastal regions of South India throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, local Christian cults were also organized around other Christian saints: St. Anthony, the Virgin Mary, and St. Thomas. Some of them managed to master their own circles of sacred power and secular authority to the point where, due to their independence, they had to splinter away from the larger Catholic community.

When during their travels through Italy in 1537, according to Laínez's apocryphal testimony, Xavier dreamt of "a black Indian like those from Ethiopia" whose heavy weight pressed upon his shoulders, little did he know that his own body and his relics were destined to be touched, kissed, stolen, bitten, and carried around by generations of European and non-European peoples. The effect of this symbolic reversal is, in fact, the key to his success. Detached from his terrestrial body, from his initial dreams of conquest and fighting, and from his national and denominational identity, Xavier's sanctity reposes on precisely these empty interior spaces, semantically undecided sites ready to be named and/or reactivated for new missionary acts and religious avatars in Asia or elsewhere.

CHAPTER TWO

A Reliquary Town—São Tomé de Meliapor

The Political and the Sacred in Portuguese India

Upon reaching Calicut (today Kozhikode, a town in southwest India) in 1498 and declaring that they were in search of "Christians and Spices,"[1] the Portuguese clearly revealed their ambition to combine the capture of overseas markets with the quest for vestiges of Christianity in the Orient. The Christians whom the Portuguese encountered on the Malabar Coast (today Kerala)—and who came to be called *Syrian Christians, Syro-Malabar Christians,* or *St. Thomas Christians*—appeared at the end of the fifteenth century to the Catholic newcomers as veritable relics of some lost apostolic time of early Christianity and of the lost, utopian universal Christian community, cut off from the Occident and the Catholic Church by the historic advance of Islam.[2] Populating the borders of the world known to Europeans, the presence of these ancient Christians raised a number of important questions crucial to justifying and legitimating Portuguese expansion and the "conquest" of Asia. The first one was, properly speaking, a historical question concerning the origins of Christianity in India and Asia. It was obviously important to establish a historical parallel between apostolic and Portuguese Christian expansion. Another intention—the urgent religious conversion to Catholicism—was "futurological" and eschatological and remained just that for at least three centuries. Thus, the missionary project in which the Portuguese invested a great deal of resources and "discourses" continued to be an endless work in progress, developing in fits and starts, with ups and downs all the way into the twentieth century.

In the early sixteenth century, when the Portuguese had ventured out of the European oikoumene and progressively acquired footholds in Africa and Asia, these scattered and often precariously held territories were also a pioneering frontier of the sacred. Aside from commercial goals, the penetration and ultimate colonization of a non-Christian world was also viewed as the accomplishment in human history that

would closely precede the Last Judgment.[3] In addition, the rapprochement with the "ancient" Christians beyond Muslim territories represented the ultimate phase in the reconquest of Jerusalem. Presented from the beginning as one of the most important fulcra in their quest, the outermost point but also a nodal point in the geography created by medieval travel accounts, was the tomb of St. Thomas the Apostle in Meliapor (or Mylapore, today a quarter of the city Madras-Chennai). The tomb had already been identified or visited by such travelers as Jean de Montecorvino and Marco Polo at the end of the thirteenth century and by Jean de Marignolli, Odoric de Pordenone, and Niccolò de' Conti in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[4] The objective of the Portuguese was thus defined as a return, a reconquest of holy places, a re-Christianization of Oriental spaces, and a stage in the reestablishment of the universal Christian monarchy, which would become the fifth empire (*quinto império*), the last before the end of the world.

The "discovery" of the St. Thomas Christians, enhanced by accounts of their origins collected in situ by the Portuguese or exhumed from medieval and patristic tradition, was to allow the new arrivals to weave their own genealogical legitimization with the strand of a founding myth and, by concealing the geographical and cultural discontinuities behind a spiritual continuity, to inscribe themselves in Indian space.[5] This would prove to be all the more useful because the Portuguese "conquest" of Asia would always remain limited to a few factory settlements and a series of commercial enclaves scattered along the coastal regions. The uneasy foundations of the Portuguese Estado da Índia depended equally on territorial possessions, political maneuvering, and providential history. It was precisely by means of all genres of hagiographic and apologetic literature that the profound geographic, social, and cultural differences between India and Europe had to be bridged. St. Thomas the Doubtful and St. Francis Xavier (1506–52), commemorated today as two apostles to Asia, acted successively to articulate and organize the units of moral, religious, economic, and political meaning that facilitated social relations in the nascent Portuguese colonial and convert communities. The descriptions, accounts, and debates concerning the burials and bones of these two Asian saints, their apostolic and supernatural works, as well as the various appropriations of their relics may help us to rethink the history of Portuguese expansion, which began in the sixteenth century and which is commonly regarded solely in terms of the widening of economic and political exchanges and links. In fact,

the way the economy of the sacred and political economy intersect in Portuguese Asia makes it impossible to clearly distinguish commercial relations from symbolic exchanges.

In extending the studies that Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Luís Filipe Thomaz have already undertaken, my intention here is to show how the burial place of St. Thomas the Apostle, which the Portuguese authorities initially intended to become the pilgrimage site commemorating the early Christian presence in India and the new seat and foothold of Christian influence in Asia, was transformed during the first half of the sixteenth century under the weight of geographical realities and historical circumstances into a site of resistance to the centralizing efforts of the Estado da Índia.[6] In the providential shadow of the venerable bones, a Portuguese community of free or private merchants (the casados) was to defend the legitimacy and special liberties of its town, São Tomé de Meliapor, against the ever-menacing and predatory colonial authorities in Goa. A half century of struggle between the independent merchants and the government in Goa centered on precisely the holy relics of the apostle.[7]

There is, however, a third group of actors, less well studied, whose role was perhaps decisive in this political battle. This third camp, itself highly heterogeneous in composition and motivation, consisted of the Catholic religious specialists from various religious orders—Jesuits, Franciscans, and Augustinians among the most important—and secular clergy. Their political intuitions and public efforts resemble, almost to the letter, the strategies of the Christian bishops in late antiquity, which Peter Brown so brilliantly described.[8] They shifted between the role of local watchdogs for the colonial or royal authorities against the initiatives of the inhabitants (*moradores*), the role of resolute supporters of the municipality, and the yet more ambiguous role of promoters of their own political projects, frequently clashing with one another. Like the late-antique *impresarios* (sponsors), they contributed their organizational know-how in the matter of public devotion to build a strong and legitimate community on the extreme frontier of the Christian world.[9] They were the ones who combined the discursive, ritual, and archaeological (avant la lettre) instruments and public theatrics to refashion Mylapore's sacred geography. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the relics of St. Thomas, identified and sanctified in three different locations in and around Mylapore, gave rise to emotional *reverentia* (or *devotio*), closely watched by the church authorities, and to new forms

of local empowering. However, the response of the inhabitants of São Tomé de Meliapor to the spiritual efforts of their clergy was not always enthusiastic, particularly because they frequently suspected such maneuvers to result from hidden collusion with the Goan ecclesiastical and state authorities (as at times they were). At the same time, the survival of the community, whose geographical and cultural isolation accentuated its vulnerability to its powerful Hindu and Muslim neighbors operating in the hinterland and around the Bay of Bengal, as well as to its own compatriots in Goa, was closely linked to a geographic sanctification durably rooting the town in the new geography of Asian Christianity. The only accredited agents for this task were the religious specialists—the "soul merchants" and "soul doctors," as they came to be known in hagiographic literature—whose presence *intra muros* would, nevertheless, always be considered a mixed blessing.

In Search of the Burial Place: From the Messianism of Dom Manuel to the Account of Duarte Barbosa

The search for the burial place of the apostle St. Thomas on the Coromandel Coast in southeastern India had begun with an expedition ordered by Viceroy Francisco de Almeida (1505–9). In 1507, he had directed it to explore the maritime and commercial route to the eastern coast of India and to Southeast Asia and to gather information about the exact location of the tomb.[10] The report of the direct witnesses of this first mission is lost, but it is nevertheless known that one year later, in the Regimento (order) of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, King Dom Manuel of Portugal underscored once again the importance of the discovery of the apostle's tomb, as well as the discovery of the Oriental Christians, who had to be convinced of the advantages that an alliance with the Portuguese would bring.[11]

The first accounts since Pedro Álvares Cabral's return from India in 1501, confirming the location of St. Thomas's burial place in India, providentially arrived at the very time when Dom Manuel was nourishing ideas of a crusade against the Muslims and of the reconquest of Jerusalem.[12] In his messianic enthusiasm to contain the Muslim world and to achieve his goal of destroying Mecca before the final conquest of the Holy Sepulchre, he envisaged himself being protected by two tombs and two apostles, St. James in Compostela and St. Thomas in

India.[13] In this visionary scheme of things, the relics of St. Thomas represented an indispensable weapon against the Muslims.

Even if the militant imagination of the Portuguese had continued to yield to the attraction of these relics, mercantile interests and successful territorial conquest had definitely involved the Portuguese on India's west coast, Konkan and Malabar, rather than on the Coromandel Coast. After 1510, Goa—which had been taken from Yusuf 'Adil Khan Sawa'i, the sultan of Bijapur (known as *Sabayo* or *Idalcão* in the Portuguese texts of that period), by force and subsequently retained after negotiations with his heirs—had at that time no apostolic or saintly bones at all.[14] The only bones Albuquerque and his victorious army boasted about were those of the Muslims killed in the battles to conquer this prized territory and future capital of the Estado da Índia.

Located some sixty kilometers south of Pulicat, an important commercial center on the Coromandel Coast from which several casados, as well as those who were referred to as *rebels* (alevantados), had established their private commerce, the town of Mylapore continued to attract visitors.[15] Andrea Corsali, an Italian merchant in Pulicat, informed Giuliano de' Medici (writing from Cochin on January 6, 1516) that the most important church of the Malabar Christians was found on the Coromandel Coast and that, according to his fellow countryman Pietro Strozzi, who had visited the place, the ancient stone tomb (*sepulcro antico di pietra*) of the apostle was sheltered there.[16] "There are bas-reliefs in the church with illegible inscriptions; there was also a footprint of St. Thomas on an immense stone."[17] Traces of ancient history, mysterious inscriptions, and signs of the supernatural already announced the future excavation works of the Portuguese and their endeavors to decipher and reconstruct this holy place where, as Peter Brown noted in a similar context, heaven and earth meet in a dead man.[18]

At the time of the first expedition in search of the burial place, another Portuguese merchant and writer, Duarte Barbosa, was completing his geographical compendium of Portuguese Asia (ca. 1518). Barbosa, who had never visited Mylapore, provided his account of the life and death of St. Thomas in India by reproducing the oral stories of the St. Thomas Christians from the region of the town of Kollam (or Quilon) on the Malabar Coast. His account thus establishes a double Christian foundation in India, that of the town of Kollam and that of Mylapore.[19]

According to Barbosa, St. Thomas began his apostolate on the Malabar Coast with miracles performed in connection with the building of

a large church. The legend combines two strands of narrative, one elaborating on the alternation between obstacles (human or natural) and their supernatural resolution, the other based on a series of ex nihilo creations. For example, the building materials for this church appeared mysteriously at the door in the form of a large tree trunk that no human force was able to move, even assisted by a large number of elephants. St. Thomas then proposed to move it by requesting the king to give it to him if he succeeded, as well as a site to build his church. The incredulous king granted this request, not without scornfully mocking the apostle. Obviously supported and helped by divine intervention, St. Thomas managed to surmount the first obstacle. He then fed and paid the carpenters and other workers employed in the construction of his church by transforming sand into rice and splinters of wood (*cavaquinhos*) into gold coins (*fanão*). Following these miracles, a large crowd rushed to be baptized by the *santo homen,* and soon the growing number of Christians posed a threat to the king of Kollam and the "pagans." Facing this new obstacle to his apostolate, St. Thomas left the Malabar Coast to settle in Mylapore on the Coromandel Coast.

Barbosa organized his book in accordance with a geographic taxonomy, following the Portuguese expansion from Cape São Sebastião on the east coast of Africa to China, while the story of St. Thomas starts on the west coast of India and concludes on the east coast.[20] His text, which is both a pilgrimage and a cartographic space, leads one into the ancient and famous city of Mylapore, which is described as nearly deserted. Its ephemeral terrestrial geographic location is further underlined, while the burial place and the account of St. Thomas's death are expanded in the text. The ocean has drawn nearer to the tomb, but Barbosa's account does not yet include prophecy, which is found in a document dating from 1530 (the text of an official investigation into the discovery of the tomb) that announced the arrival of the "white people" after the submergence of the old town.[21]

The account of the death of St. Thomas the Apostle is resolutely inscribed in the register of the fantastic and exotic. It is, namely, composed of fragments borrowed from the local Śivaite tradition, interspersed with Christian elements of Chaldean origin, such as the figure of the peacock, which for the Śivaites represents the vehicle (*vahana*) of the god Murugan (Śiva), while the Chaldean (Syrian) church employs the same motif to symbolize the immortality of the soul (the peacock is, in fact, identified with the phoenix).[22] Barbosa suggested a nearly acci-

dental martyrdom, which occurred during the metamorphosis of the saint into a peacock that was then killed by a hunter's arrow. Mortally wounded, Thomas rose heavenward, resumed his human form, and fell to the ground, leaving the imprint of his naked feet in a stone.[23] The theme of the footprint has a long tradition in India and is also found in places sanctified by Buddhism or Islam.

It was only after his burial that the town's inhabitants began to venerate St. Thomas as their patron saint. Some time later, however, as if defying the communal ties that anchored him to the locality and as if affirming his independent sacred authority, the first relic of the apostle to appear in Barbosa's account came straight out of the tomb. It was St. Thomas's right hand, which refused to be buried and placated too easily by the devotees, but at the same time it also rendered more immediate the contact between terrestrial and celestial worlds. The right hand, as is well-known, bears a particular significance for the apostles and the confessors, for it is the right hand that administers baptism and gives benedictions. St. Thomas's hand was considered even more powerful and sacred because it had touched the stigmata of Christ. The narrative logic of a typical hagiographic scenario would have the next episode contain a story of the theft of the relic, the topos in medieval Western literature that, as Patrick Geary clearly showed, functions as an act of authentication of the holy objects.[24] Hence, struck by a blow from a saber wielded by a Chinese pilgrim who had come to take away the relics of the apostle, the right hand withdrew forever to the abyss of the tomb. However, the disappearance of this powerful and fertile hand led the earthly world around the tomb to fall to ruin and then to return to its naturally wild state in which "everything is covered with scrub" and those devoted to St. Thomas were not necessarily Christians. Muslims and pagans also laid claim to him as a patron; moreover, it was a "Mouro" who lit the lights in the church raised above his burial place and decorated the inside with crosses and bas-reliefs of peacocks. The Christians in India, Barbosa summarized in his chapter on Mylapore, made pilgrimage to this place and collected earth from around the tomb, which is known for its thaumaturgic qualities.

The places Duarte Barbosa described one after another slowly but progressively build up in the text a full-fledged cartography of desire as a prelude to the desire of conquest. Thus, in the town of Mylapore, which was reduced to the burial place of St. Thomas, the most valuable objects were the relics of the apostle, but Barbosa's text nevertheless

carries out an additional reduction. For, even if it is difficult today to establish the exact sources of his information, it seems certain that the Barbosa was unaware of or effaced any reference to the accounts of the apostle's life that were already well-known in the West. One therefore searches in vain for a narrative trace of the Acts (Apocrypha) of Thomas, a Syriac text translated into Greek and Latin (from the fifth to the seventh centuries) that had been incorporated in the *Flos Sanctorum,* published in Lisbon in 1513.[25] Barbosa thus chose to refer solely to the local knowledge of the Syrian Christians in Malabar. No hesitation can be discerned about the presumed transfer of the body of St. Thomas to other places such as Edessa, Chios, and then Ortona. Gregory of Tours (583–594), for example, evoked the Syrian tradition in shifting St. Thomas's burial place from India to Edessa.[26] The same statement is reproduced in the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville,* a compilation of medieval itineraries from the sixteenth century that was widely diffused in Europe after its original publication in English in 1499.[27] The only European textual source that Barbosa would probably have known was the book by Marco Polo, which also mentions the relics of earth and the metamorphosis into a peacock but locates the site of the burial place imprecisely "in the province of Malabar."[28]

Even if Barbosa had read Marco Polo's book, his own Christian informants on the Malabar Coast had a rich tradition of miracles performed by St. Thomas and linked to their own origins. And it was this local tradition that the "first" Portuguese discoverers were to blend into their accounts to imbue the site with a providential aura under which they were to build the foundations of a successful factory settlement (São Tomé de Meliapor) on the Coromandel Coast.

The Discovery of the Burial Place

In 1517, the Armenian merchants in Pulicat, a major trading market on the Coromandel Coast, persuaded a small group of Portuguese returning from Melaka, among whom was a certain Coje Escandel (or Codi Ficander), to make a pilgrimage to the sepulcher, which was six days of travel on foot to the south.[29] This first official discovery appears in all the important chronicles of the period, by João de Barros, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, and Gaspar Correa.[30] A letter written in July 1517 by Manuel Gomes, who took part in another expedition from

Pulicat a short time later, is the sole eyewitness account of these first Portuguese visits.[31] Some of the information Gomes collected corresponds closely to that in Barbosa's text, such as the details of St. Thomas's martyrdom, his miracles in transforming sand into rice and splinters of wood into money (*tangas*), and the miracle of the construction of the church from a single tree trunk. There was, however, one important difference between Barbosa's and Gomes's accounts. All these miraculous events took place in Mylapore and not in Kollam. In addition, the greater part of his narrative was based on what he himself actually saw on the spot on that particular day. He described with a meticulous eye the condition, size, and decorations of the church in which the tomb was located and confirmed the presence of a stone bearing an imprint of the saint's foot.

He then offered his demographic estimate of the then virtually desert area and added a "historical" explanation, according to which the water that must have submerged not less than four old towns was probably connected with the disappearance of the Christians and with a pagan sovereign's reconquest of what had belonged to the apostle's church. From Gomes's point of view, the area therefore presented a potential for considerable wealth, and its tumbledown condition signified the deficiency (or nonexistence) of legitimate power. Consequently, such a sorry state of affairs justified a territorial occupation.

His text, on the other hand, lacks any consideration of the apostle's spiritual presence in this holy place, which is all the more striking because he wrote his letter in the apostle's very *casa* (house, church) and included in his account the presence in the same church of a second tomb, that of the apostle St. Matthew. The surprising fact that the praesentia of two apostles had not touched the heart of this modest Portuguese and that he did not even pay lip service to the "odor of sanctity" that must have wafted in the air of such a very special place may signify that in 1517 the immediate priorities of the Portuguese in this small village of fishermen were not guided solely by an impulse of piety. The urgency no doubt lay elsewhere and concerned a quick evaluation of the modalities for the possible foundation of a new commercial settlement near the saint's burial place.

For the chronicler Gaspar Correa, who belonged to an official expedition sent to Mylapore in 1521 by the governor Duarte de Meneses, the sight of the location of the tomb inspired a certain "sadness," "heartfelt devotion," and "memories of sin" and caused his body to

tremble. One has the feeling, added Correa, that one is on holy ground. This moment of "conversion" is opposed to life in Pulicat and to the journey to the church of the apostle, during which they had "sung, amused themselves by eating and drinking much."[32] The place inspired a certain inner calm "near the feet" of St. Thomas.[33] This quality of sobriety, of pious peacefulness, and of refuge far removed from the world would become the topos in letters written by the Portuguese colonists who shortly afterward began to populate the area of the Samta Casa.

An ambiguity that later became downright opposition took hold between two conceptions of what the town São Tomé de Meliapor should represent: on the one hand, it was conceived as a holy place, a pilgrimage center; on the other hand, a refuge removed from the world, a lay "monastery," administered by a secluded community. The first is a matter of an official, metropolitan, and centralizing policy, whereas the latter emanates from a local initiative, decentralizing and verging on illegitimacy. This tension between the two points of view would persist until the end of the 1560s and would not be completely resolved even later. The "invention" and the control of the relics played an important role in this rivalry between the official vision of the authorities in Goa and that of the autonomous community of Portuguese merchants established in Mylapore.

The Excavation of the Relics: Two Eyewitnesses

The reconstruction or repair of the St. Thomas chapel (Samta Casa) and the excavation of the relics in 1523 under the mandate of Manuel de Fryas, the *feitor* (factor or state official) and then the captain of the Coromandel Coast, coincided with the beginning of the Portuguese establishment in Mylapore. Two friars who were earlier present at the discovery of the tomb in 1517 had already lived there, and the two eyewitness reports by one of them, Diogo Fernandes, were recorded in 1533 and 1543.[34]

The official project shows a direct will to appropriate, indeed to confiscate, in the interest of Goa and Portugal. The famous stone with the footprint of the saint had been broken and sent "to India," that is to say, to Goa, as early as 1517. Correa mentioned that, in 1521, he had been able to see only part of this stone, bearing the imprint of a toe. In another document written by Correa, one learns in addition that

the three wooden crosses found above the door had also been sent to Dom Manuel in Portugal because of their resemblance to the cross of the Avis dynasty.[35]

Some time later, during repair work on the church carried out by the mason Vicente Fernandes and supervised very closely by the priest António Gil, both of whom were sent by Fryas, the tombs of the disciples or devotees of St. Thomas were located around the apostle's own burial place and were opened one after the other and their bones exhumed. The identification of the tombs and of the relics was based on information gathered in situ through what one can imagine was a complex negotiation between Portuguese aspirations and wishful thinking and their local Tamil informants' interpretations. One discovers that the St. Matthew mentioned by Gomes was none other than Tane Mudeliar—the name having been imprecisely translated as "Thomas servant of god"—who was accorded the status of a local king converted by the apostle. Finally, the decision was made to exhume the bones of St. Thomas, allegedly to strengthen the foundation wall of the church.

According to Diogo Fernandes, the first inhabitants of the future town of São Tomé—his brother Bastião (or Sebastião) and himself—were opposed to this project, but the priest António Gil summoned them in the name of the apostle and in the names of the Portuguese king and of the governor Dom Duarte de Meneses. According to his testimony taken in 1533, Fernandes's opposition to the extraction of the relics in the early 1520s is probably an anachronism. By 1530, he must have realized that once the relics of St. Thomas, consisting of a few bones, a piece of a spear or of the instrument of his martyrdom, and a pot filled with red sand, were exhumed and placed in a small casket, whose key was sent to the viceroy in Goa, they would become vulnerable to theft and division. Even more dangerously, they could be removed altogether from Mylapore and appropriated by the centers of authority, such as Goa and Lisbon. The example of the apostle's footprint was all too telling.

In 1525, another priest, the Franciscan Álvaro Penteado, returned to Mylapore after his first short and difficult stay in 1522. He broke the lock of the casket and took possession of the relics, concealing them in a wooden box beneath the altar and out of reach of the Portuguese inhabitants, whose number had grown in the meantime. Sometime before 1530, the animosity of the Portuguese inhabitants of São Tomé, who threatened Penteado with death, forced him to flee precipitately to

Cochin.[36] The chapel and the tomb of the apostle within it were then enshrined in a new church. This new structure started to resemble a fortress. In 1543, another church was added beside the first, and two chapels were built on old tombs that had been found at a distance from the burial place of the saint.[37]

Apart from Diogo Fernandes's two eyewitness reports, the first in 1533 and the second collected in 1543 by Gaspar Coelho—the secular priest who appears in all the hagiographies of St. Francis Xavier's life and to whom he offered hospitality in 1545—João III, the king of Portugal, commanded another official inquiry into the holy place. Governor Nuno da Cunha (1529–38) first entrusted the commission to Ambrósio do Rego, the captain of the Coromandel, who was hardly enthusiastic about the idea of becoming involved in this matter. The task finally went to his successor, Miguel Ferreira, himself an inhabitant and a prominent notable (morador and *pesoa principal*) in the town of Mylapore.[38] According to a précis prepared by Gaspar Correa, Diogo Fernandes's depositions and the 1530 inquiry cast light on the difficult character of the relations between the Portuguese authorities and the inhabitants of Mylapore.[39]

Conducted according to an exact plan on the basis of questions prepared in Portugal, the inquiry was carried out in Pulicat under Ferreira's supervision and took pains to confirm that the occupation by the Portuguese merchants, which had become an individual and local initiative, was a divine and even miraculous act performed by St. Thomas himself, through his relics. This was achieved to the extent that the "transcription" of the testimonies, whose initial aim was to collect "veracious" facts, succeeded in diverting the official intentions by defining Mylapore as an almost otherworldly space: the last site in the story of St. Thomas and the place of a mercantile utopia, a Portuguese and Christian space situated in a tax-free territory removed from the control of the colonial administrative institutions.

Let us first note that no Portuguese morador, whose objectivity would have been open to dispute, appeared among the witnesses, with the sole exception of the secular priest António Gil. Priority was therefore given to "the oldest men to be found, Muslims and gentiles, natives and strangers."[40] The strangers invited to give their opinion were two Chaldean priests, who, since their arrival in India in 1503, had traveled with the St. Thomas Christians on the Malabar Coast. The accounts by

the bishops Mar Jacob (abuna) and Jorge (possibly Mar Denha) of the life and death of St. Thomas diverged on a point quite important, if not crucial, for the history of Mylapore.[41]

The two foreign bishops were both sent by the *katholikos,* the patriarch Elias from Mesopotamia (Gazarta Bēt Zabdai), to tend to their flock of St. Thomas Christians. They took up residence in Kodungallur (Cranganore) and Kollam.[42] Going back in history at least to the sixth century, the Christian communities on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts depended for their spiritual and sacramental needs on the bishops imported from West Asia.[43] St. Thomas Christians fiercely revered and attributed special powers to these foreign clerics who did not even speak the language of their charges all that well. The *abuna*'s capacity to perform liturgical rites (in Syriac) and to consecrate local Malayalam-speaking hereditary priests, *kattanars,* or *cassanares* in Portuguese texts was an important fact confirming and maintaining the spiritual and social cohesion of the Christian communities in Kerala. Periodic renewal of the consecration and ordination with the holy oil (*muron*) imported from West Asia was considered an indispensable act of sacred empowerment, upon which the community's ritual and spiritual survival depended.[44] The relationship between these foreign bishops and the Portuguese, especially the Franciscans and after the 1540s the Jesuits, became strained quite early, and the mutual animosity flared up even more by the end of the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth century.[45]

Judging by Mar Jacob (or Jacome Abuna in Portuguese) and from other reports, there is no doubt that the Franciscan Álvaro Penteado was much hated not only by the Portuguese moradores of São Tomé de Meliapor but also by the St. Thomas Christians on the Malabar Coast.[46] And yet, until his death in 1549, Mar Jacob proved to be the best friend the Portuguese would ever have among the West Asian bishops. He even had a good working relationship with Penteado. He was therefore an appropriate witness and authority to be asked to give a statement for Miguel Ferreira's 1530 inquiry into the "invention" of St. Thomas's tomb. In a long and detailed deposition, the abuna clearly told a story that belonged to the Syrian tradition of the Acts of Saint Thomas, according to which the body of the apostle was disinterred and taken to Edessa at an earlier time.[47]

While the statement of this "fact" could have been taken as a threat

to the inhabitants of Mylapore, the danger was even greater for the legitimacy of the official Portuguese colonial project as a whole. If the inquiry of 1530 revealed such perilous information, it was only to better extenuate and disqualify it. The inquiry, in fact, presented itself as the guarantor of the discourse on the relics of St. Thomas, whose true guardians were the Portuguese inhabitants of Mylapore.

The testimonies that followed were based on the Malabar tradition, one from the bishop Jorge and the other from six men from the region—a Muslim, Chego, from Pulicat; Bayo Bamdar, a gentile from Mylapore; Amchamcho, a gentile from the region; an old Brahmin; Cunachatym, a native of the country; Cojale, the Muslim *xabandar* (harbor captain) from Pulicat—all of whom "spoke as if from one mouth" and to whom, as a matter of fact, a single voice was given in the text. All of them insisted and certified that the "Armenians of Edessa" had carried out no "translation" of the relics. At the end of the sixteenth century, the general opinion was that the inhabitants of Mylapore had in fact misled the Armenians by showing them the tomb of a disciple of St. Thomas. Gaspar Correa naturally stood up to defend the Malabar tradition. Briefly describing his spiritual experience in the proximity of the saint twelve years earlier, Correa nevertheless insisted that the surroundings of the burial site had already been crisscrossed with excavations to a very large extent. The "people of the land" had sought gold there and had discovered enormous houses with terraces, sitting rooms, bedrooms, wells and water reservoirs, and colorful ceramics (*azulejos*).

This subterranean town, half-submerged in water in accordance with the apostle's prophecy announcing the arrival of Westerners professing the true faith and the end of the inundations, to which all the accounts the Portuguese collected bear witness, serves as an invisible and symbolic foundation of the town of the casados.[48] These preeminently aquatic elements in the miracles of St. Thomas were responsible for establishing the link, at least in Correa's text, between the ancient population and the new Portuguese houses, for after 1523, the latter were always raised over old, disused wells.[49] These newly liberated waters had in turn stimulated the growth of the town, and in 1534, some thirty residences (*moradas*) of stone were counted, although, as Correa added, this rapid urban development had taken place against the will of the governors of India, against the will of the king, and against that of the "people of the land," but by divine will alone or by the will of the apostle.[50]

The Founding of São Tomé de Méliapor: Commerce and Spirituality

In Correa's eyes, the founding of São Tomé de Meliapor was thus a supernatural creation that did not follow the same paths as worldly politics. At the same time, the matters of this world were no doubt more complicated than what he suggested. For example, the official reason he mentioned against developing and populating Mylapore, that is, the scarcity of men prepared to serve in India, was only partly true. Moreover, it was no secret that the first moradores of São Tomé were Portuguese deserters from garrisons in Cochin and Melaka who entered into private commerce for their own profit, often to the detriment of royal commerce. Some deserters, like Diogo and Bastião Fernandes, became respectable men and constituted a local elite ready to resist the centralizing control of the governors in Goa and of their representatives in Pulicat, the captains of the Coromandel.

Not all governors, however, favored strong centralization, and at least during the first two decades, official policy alternated between the current of state-controlled economy introduced by Afonso de Albuquerque (1509–15) and the current of the *grande soltura* (great liberty) policy favoring the interests of private merchants (casados), which was associated with Francisco de Almeida (1505–9) and Lopo Soares de Albergaria (1515–18). During the 1520s, nearly two hundred Portuguese in Pulicat were active in private commerce on the Coromandel Coast as far as Bengal and Southeast Asia (Martaban, Tenasserim).[51] The image of these Portuguese out of reach of official authority was that of bandits, pirates, and other renegades, and governors like Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (1518–22) and Duarte de Meneses (1522–24) attempted to arrest what they perceived as the economic, social, and geographical erosion to which the institution of casados contributed. The measures to recover control were neither conceived nor executed in a coherent manner, but this is the context in which to see the discovery of St. Thomas's tomb, as well as the official opposition to the establishment of the town of São Tomé de Meliapor, to which Gaspar Correa referred.

During the 1530s, São Tomé de Meliapor grew into a factory settlement of independent merchants, a precursor by half a century of the town of Macau in China. But the status of these casados remained ambiguous and bordered on illegality. To combat such accusations, as

early as 1535 the inhabitants directly addressed João III, the king of Portugal, and used the presence of the relics of St. Thomas to portray themselves as a community sanctified by the apostle.[52] First of all, at the beginning of their letter, a play on words or associations of little subtlety identified the Samta Casa, the small Church of St. Thomas, as the very place where some sixty households of casados lived (*Samta Casa e moradores dela*), as if this community lived permanently in a church, enjoying the perpetual benedictions of the place. The continuation of the letter is a rapid chronicle of the settlement of the place, interspersed with reminders of the work done on the church and the excavation of the relics. The inhabitants also underscored that, since the church had been built—with their own money (*cynquo hou seis mill cruzados*)—all the men had married their servants, with whom they had had children, and that the four priests and the vicar, also financed by the inhabitants of the town, were in the process of converting hundreds of pagans, or, more precisely, eighteen hundred of them. Surviving under great hardship and surrounded by non-Christians, they added, they had also sent their men to join military expeditions undertaken by the governors of the Estado da Índia–for example, that by Nuno da Cunha in 1535, who had succeeded in consolidating the Portuguese hold over Diu.[53] In conclusion, after having given proofs of the perfect organization of their establishment as a religious, moral, and economically independent community, they requested a royal alvará (charter) guaranteeing their particular status in the official Portuguese system (the letter is damaged exactly where the request was formulated).

However, with the change of governor in 1538, the casados in São Tomé de Meliapor found themselves directly threatened by the authorities in Goa, notably by Viceroy Garcia de Noronha (1538–40), who in 1539 envisaged an assault on the town to stamp out the network of private merchants on the Coromandel Coast.[54] The capture of the relics of St. Thomas and their transfer to Goa was naturally one of the priorities. Although the town was spared for complex reasons inherent in Portuguese geopolitics of the time, the Portuguese officials in Goa continued to wait for an occasion to take possession of the precious treasure—the relics of an apostle—to be able to sanctify their own territory. Goa, in fact, had an increasing need for a strong and authentic saint to affirm its just place in the providential geography of Christianity in Asia.

The conflict between the "independent" community of Portuguese merchants in São Tomé de Meliapor and the colonial administration in

Goa was once again complicated by the presence of the religious specialists who were also attempting to establish their own house or monastery or quite simply to assert themselves as legitimate guardians of the holy place.[55] The Franciscan Álvaro Penteado had attempted to wrest control of the relics from the casados, but he was himself forced to leave the town. After the nomination of Miguel Ferreira to the post of captain, the relics, which Penteado had concealed, were found and once again deposited in a small, padlocked casket.[56] Ferreira himself kept the key to this casket, while the casket and the key to the church were entrusted to the new vicar, the French Franciscan Ugo Nicolao.[57] The key would never again be sent to Goa, and for nearly twenty-nine years the relics were to remain in actual fact in the hands of the inhabitants of the town.

The New Elements in the Sacred Topography of Mylapore

After 1540, the image of São Tomé de Meliapor was on the point of taking on a new type of respectability. Francis Xavier's visit in 1545 led to the establishment of the Jesuit residence in 1549. Then, as a result of archaeological finds and a new effort to decipher the history of the place and of its surroundings abundant with tombs, monuments, and oral traditions, a new official Portuguese and Catholic version of the death of St. Thomas took shape. During excavations and construction work to enlarge the chapel on the Big Mount (*periya malai*) to the southeast of the burial place, an important discovery/invention took place. When workers turned a slab of stone to cast it away, they suddenly beheld a cross with small, petrified "drops of blood" on its surface. This unexpected event led to a modification of the narrative of St. Thomas's martyrdom. According to local tradition, the saint died nearer to the site of his tomb, on the Little Mount (*cinna malai*) in the contemporary suburb of Saidapet. To the purpose of better inserting this new discovery on the Big Mount into the well-known story, the Portuguese had asked a Brahman to read the inscription found above the cross, and the latter obliged, providing a completely imaginary interpretation: "During the time of the Sagamo laws, Thomas the divine man was sent by the Son of God (whose disciple he was) to these countries to lead the people of this nation to the knowledge of God, and he erected a temple and performed miracles and finally, while he was praying on his knees before

this cross, he was pierced by a Brahman's spear and this cross was tinged with his blood for eternal memory."[58] The Portuguese were of course delighted with the Brahman's translation. The truth, of course, lay elsewhere.

The dating of this cross, between the seventh and eighth centuries, and the translation of the inscription in Pahlavi, an archaic form of modern Persian, have since then given rise to controversies in learned milieus. Despite the diversity of opinions expressed on this question, no one has confirmed the Brahman's translation, and it is today accepted that the inscription should read: "My Lord Christ, have pity on Afras, son of Chaharbukt the Syrian, who has carved this" (fig. 7).[59]

For the inhabitants of the town, the Brahman's translation (around 1561) was sufficient to revise the topography of the death of St. Thomas by connecting the three traditional places associated with the apostle. According to the new version, St. Thomas had been wounded on the Little Mount and fled to the Big Mount to finally die there, clasping the cross. Supported by the Jesuits and the other religious specialists and priests, the Portuguese quite logically wished to provide a coherent history linking the various places traditionally associated with the apostle's life and passion, but one can also discern therein another reason for this multiplication of holy places in Mylapore.

An incident in 1559 attested to the vulnerability of the relics in the face of new attempts at usurpation. This time the attack came from the "gentile king" in the hinterland. This time it was Rāma Rāja, of Aravidu lineage, the most powerful *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* at the Vijayanagara court and the de facto monarch, who laid siege to the town, probably to extort money.[60] According to rumors, the Brahmans had invited Rāma Rāja to plunder the town to counter the fervent and successful Christian proselytism in the area.[61] According to the Jesuit Luís Fróis, Rāma Rāja, "the king of Bisnaga . . . [had come] with more than sixty thousand men and a great number of elephants to the town or the settlement in the Coromandel where, according to what is said, the body of the glorious Apostle São Thomé is sheltered, [and] he entered into the Portuguese places without having killed anyone, [but] by capturing twenty-five persons, and he ordered the relics of the Apostle to be seized and took them with him."[62] The royal incursion ended in negotiations between Rāma Rāja and the town notables (*pessoas principais*). A price was determined and paid, and the relics, the image of Our Lady by St. Luke, and the hostages were returned safe and sound.

The inhabitants of Mylapore, aware of their precarious position surrounded by a non-Christian kingdom, nevertheless refused the counsel to offer military resistance, as advised by a certain Pero de Taíde (nicknamed *Inferno*), who was then passing through the town. This policy of conciliation, on the one hand, dismayed the Portuguese administration in Goa, but on the other hand, the episode incriminated the members of religious orders and the clergy, who were accused of having exaggerated in their zeal and thus endangered the whole community.[63] Conciliatory behavior—or defeatist behavior, as seen from Goa—was explained by the fact that the inhabitants of São Tomé de Meliapor really considered Rāma Rāja the sovereign ruler of the territory. Hence, by coming in person and demanding payment of tribute from the inhabitants of São Tomé de Meliapor, the Vijayanagara governor was merely exercising his legitimate right. This acknowledgment illustrates that the inhabitants of Mylapore knew how to adapt rapidly to the hazards and contingencies of the local political arena.

Dom Constantino de Bragança, the Portuguese viceroy (1558–61), consequently conceived of a plan to evacuate the inhabitants of the town to Jaffna in Ceylon (or to Goa), where he was engaged in a military campaign.[64] On this occasion, the Jesuits obtained from the king, the young Dom Sebastião, the privilege of becoming guardians of the relics and of the Church of St. Thomas in Mylapore in the absence of the Portuguese community. The inhabitants, estimated at more than two thousand at the time, rejected this new offensive by the central authorities and the Jesuits.[65] The relics, however, did not remain intact. First, it seems that Constantino de Bragança planned to transfer them to Goa to consecrate a new church dedicated to St. Thomas.[66] Moreover, a certain Franciscan, Lopo de Almada, supposedly took half the relics to Cochin.[67] According to the Jesuit Francisco de Sousa, who wrote a history of the Society of Jesus in Asia, by the end of the sixteenth century, the relics finally arrived in Goa with the bishop of Cochin André de Santa Maria, to be placed in the Church of St. Thomas, and another Augustinian archbishop, Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes, took them out in procession during the mandate of Viceroy Aires de Saldanha (1600–1605). Sousa also mentioned that a small piece of the spear had been sent to Bassein in the Portuguese northern provinces.[68] However, it does not appear that the dwindling or the circulation or, quite simply, the theft of the relics of St. Thomas in any way affected opinion about the sanctity of the tomb in Mylapore. Despite the protestations of the moradores, the

growing demand for objects that had belonged to the apostle or that he had touched added to the reputation of their place of origin. In the spiritual and miraculous economy of the relic, the division of this very special object does not have a detrimental effect on its value but, on the contrary, can stimulate demand and raise its "price." At the same time, São Tomé de Meliapor became a favored place of pilgrimage, as accounts of travelers in the second half of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century confirm.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, in a symbolic gesture of authorization, the centrifugal movement of the relics from Mylapore to Goa seems to have been almost reversed. With a view to the next ecclesiastical and administrative elevation of the town, when Mylapore became the archdiocese and the Cidade (a "free" town) in 1606, a few pieces of the relic seemed to have been repatriated to the community. In a letter of 1601, André de Santa Maria, the bishop of Cochin, confirmed that the relics had been sent back to Mylapore.[69]

A half century prior to this ultimate recognition, consecrated by the return of the relics, a series of providential events took place under the anxious and benevolent gaze of the Jesuits and other Christian religious specialists. Each time the inhabitants of the town and the relics were threatened, the cross sculpted in a stone that had been discovered on the Big Mount (or St. Thomas Mount), whose surface displayed reddish forms, began to sweat blood. The first occurrence of this miracle, which would be repeated for a few centuries, was during the December 18, 1557, Mass commemorating the Day of Our Lady of Expectation (*dia da sua Expectação*), the patron saint of the church built ten years earlier.[70] This prodigious event inspired several generations of historians and Jesuit writers, as well as secular authors.[71] According to the canonical version, water had oozed from the cross, which Gaspar Coelho had cleaned with a piece of cloth. The next day, the residual water in the chalice had been transformed into blood, while the color of the cross had changed from black to a resplendent white.[72]

With or without the apostle's relics, the residents, this time fully supported by the local church authorities, succeeded in enlarging their sacred resources by finding a new pole of sanctity guaranteeing the independent and privileged status of São Tomé de Meliapor against any further predatory thefts of relics. Apart from its thaumaturgic qualities, the miraculously bleeding cross rapidly gained a strong reputation for divination, based perhaps on one or more local traditions. In 1567, a Je-

suit, Melchior Nunes Barreto, had already written from Cochin to Francisco de Borja, the order's general in Rome, that the inhabitants of Mylapore had understood that the sweating was due to their own sins (*peccados*) but that the gentiles interpreted it as the announcement of great calamities, such as war, famine, disease, or persecutions.[73] When the combined Muslim forces of the Deccan sultanates of Golkonda, Bijapur, and Ahmednagar destroyed the capital of the Vijayanagara kingdom, whose ruins can still be admired scattered around the dusty hamlet of Hampi, south of the spectacular Thungabhadra River, Rāma Rāja was captured and beheaded after the decisive battle of Talikota in 1565.[74] According to Barreto, this well-merited disaster was directly linked to the appropriation of the relics six years earlier. The punishment of the apostle was the fall of the great Hindu kingdom in the Deccan.[75]

From St. Thomas's Bones to the Body of St. Xavier

The mercantile, political, and sacred investments during the first decades following the discovery in 1517 inaugurated in this pioneering town, especially after the 1560s, half a century of relative prosperity, punctuated by the sporadic but contained violence typical of this period.[76] São Tomé de Meliapor was described at the time as a very beautiful town with large houses and a profusion of religious buildings—churches, chapels, colleges, and the like.[77] Some travelers also indicated that the success in maritime trade enjoyed by Mylapore, a town without a natural harbor, comparable to Pulicat, was in itself almost a miracle.[78] Before its destruction at the end of the seventeenth century and its later incorporation as a suburb of the city of Madras under British domination, it reached the summit of its official ascendance in the first decade of the seventeenth century, as it took advantage of de facto autonomy.

The presence of St. Thomas's bones was thus a determining factor for the Portuguese to choose this place from among others on the Coromandel Coast. The elaboration of the legends around the life of St. Thomas, the rearrangement of the sacred geography around the burial site, and the "invention" or superposition of subsidiary sacred places and objects—all the work of Jesuits and other religious specialists—had facilitated resistance to the centralizing efforts emanating from Goa and had legitimated the mercantile, indigenized, and consequently independent status of the town. Mylapore, a reliquary town, continued

to multiply the signs of its divine election and continued to attract pilgrims of all religious persuasions—Christian, Muslim, and Hindu. The capacity to preserve the relics was one of the most important signs of divine grace since, as Patrick Geary showed, communities that accommodate a relic badly can and often do lose it, notably through theft. Typically, the fact that the relics remained in Mylapore serves as a proof of their holy potency and of their authenticity.

Between April and August 1545, however, a piece of one of St. Thomas's bones, a cross, and a rosary made of the same wood with which tradition says St. Thomas had built his house were supposed to have been fatefully transferred.[79] Gaspar Coelho, the vicar of the Church of St. Thomas in Mylapore, had entrusted these precious objects to Francis Xavier, who was to make use of them during his seven years of missionary peregrinations between Goa, Melaka, Japan, and the island of Sanciam (facing China), where he died on December 3, 1552.[80] Already in 1559, Luís Fróis described the content of a reliquary that another Jesuit, Melchior Carneiro, acquired from a Portuguese who claimed to have been present on Sanciam at the time of Xavier's death. Identified as belonging to Xavier, this reliquary was solemnly opened in the Jesuit College of Madre de Deus in Cochin and proved to contain a small piece of the apostle's bone and two sheets of paper, one with the signature of St. Ignatius and the other with Xavier's vows and profession of faith.[81] In one of the first histories of the Society of Jesus in Asia, the Jesuit Sebastião Gonçalves wove a close link between the relic of the apostle St. Thomas and the relics of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, both of whom were under review for canonization. Gonçalves's text assimilates the evangelizing mission of the Jesuits with the heritage of St. Thomas.

> The Blessed Father Francis, knowing that the Apostle St. Thomas was charged to convert these Oriental countries, was not content to converse (*negociar*) with him during the Mass and prayers . . . but wanted to visit the place of his martyrdom and the holy relics so that their sight would further incite the very great desire to discern the divine will concerning his stay in Melaka and in Makassar.[82]

As is well-known, the Jesuit accommodation is strategy that starts with mimesis, self-effacement, indigenization, and "taking the role of the other," to paraphrase George Herbert Mead. As if following this rule

to the letter, after a decade of obsessive apostolic travel, Xavier himself became a relic, planted in the heart of the city of Goa, the capital of the Estado da Índia, and imposed himself as the patron saint of the town. If Afonso de Albuquerque was considered the secular founder of Goa, Xavier had become its spiritual founder, pushing aside all the other candidates, such as St. Catherine, who was promoted by Afonso de Albuquerque, and St. Thomas, chosen by Dom Constantino de Bragança. It was through the Jesuits and their baroque production that the devotion and pilgrimages to Xavier's body were orchestrated. A new church, Bom Jesus, would be built to accommodate his mortal remains, while the Church of St. Thomas, built by Dom Constantino de Bragança, had already fallen to ruin by the end of the sixteenth century and his relics had been sent to a rather insignificant church (Nossa Senhora de Ajuda) in Ribandar.

The appropriation and control of the relics of St. Thomas and the objects consecrated by his contact during his terrestrial stay in Mylapore informed all the political squabbles and spiritual measures of the period in this small enclave on the Coromandel Coast. Authority and the sacred merged almost seamlessly in accounts of the town's foundation. From the start, this was an incomplete foundation, precarious and unstable, as the town was jostled by its tumultuous and disordered destiny from one colonial power to another. Ultimately, the village became a suburb of the city of Madras (today Chennai) founded by the British, and its origins disappeared, in part beneath the weight of oblivion and of an uncertain toponymy, but the three locations identified and promoted by the Portuguese as special locations of the apostle's potentia are still reputed to possess *Shakti*, a special healing and spiritual power.[83] Hence, today nobody cares for the apostle's holy relics any more. Some of them are stacked away in a little museum adjacent to the cathedral built on top of the tomb by the seashore. One little piece encased in a cheap reliquary is hidden in a narrow corridor leading upstairs from Our Lady of Health, the old church on the Little Mount, to the "miraculous" well on top of the boulder where a glass of holy water can be bought for five rupees (figs. 8a and 8b). Another piece is kept on the right side of the altar in the Church of Our Lady of Expectation on St. Thomas Mount (Big Mount) (fig. 9). The reasons for the relics' loss of value are many and beyond the scope of this chapter. They have something to do with official church policy, with the British colonialism that supplanted Portuguese rule, with the doubts professional archaeologists

and historians have cast on the authenticity of the site, and with the indigenization of Indian Catholicism. Finally, with or without relics and holy bones, the steady flow of Christian, Muslim, and Hindu pilgrims confirms that the material and spiritual continue to meet in these three locations and that one can approach the divine there with vows and demands in many different ways—with candles, wax or metal ex-votos, oil lamps, flower garlands, or coconuts. Whether or not this divine shakti has anything to do with Christianity and whether or not it was negotiated and brokered by an apostle is beyond the point.

PART II

Tropical Virtues and Vices

CHAPTER THREE

Fervors and Tropics

A Jesuit Missionary Career in India (António Gomes, 1548–54)

On May 7, 1547, Ignatius of Loyola wrote a letter to the students of the Jesuit college in Coimbra, one of the most difficult and delicate letters in the latter days of his career as a founder of a rapidly growing religious order. He faced a paradoxical situation, a threshold, an uneasy ground marked by the saintly traces of his own charismatic persona. As a former pilgrim and religious mystic, at this point Loyola had to find words and images to dissuade the first generation of Jesuit recruits from doing just what he did—experimenting with excessive prayers, plunging uncontrollably into transporting visions, physically menacing his adversaries, and many other sacred deliriums and delights. This first letter was interwoven with many learned references, and a few seductively simple, though crucial and lapidary statements were formulated on the meaning of obedience, which became one of the pillars of the "Jesuit way of proceeding." For an excess of expressive emotion, one should substitute interior prudent intentions; instead of indiscreet spirituality and self-love, one should strive for individual abnegation and hard work to save one's neighbor; unruly personal volition should be expunged in favor of complete obedience to a superior. The fathers and the brothers of the Coimbra college were to become "special soldiers of the Company."[1] As in a modern army, the discipline of the members was a key to a successful campaign.

This is precisely the direction and the goal toward which Loyola endeavored to lead the dispersed members of his newly founded corpus.[2] Without concerted and synchronized action coordinated from the center, his fear, based on his own youthful experience as a soldier and a spiritual seeker, was that the walls of the institution he was painstakingly building block by block would burst asunder. The tension between stability and bursting apart, detected and analyzed by Alphonse Dupront in a different context in France, was a central problem Loyola

labored to solve from 1546 on.[3] One of the strategies for keeping the lid closed on any kind of "indiscreet fervor" was to discourage the charismatic behavior typical of some of the seven founding fathers, himself included. At the time of the regrouping and institutionalization in the late 1540s, new types of virtues and qualities were required of the members. In Loyola's mind, the heroic period of foundation in which religious athletes such as Simão Rodrigues, Francis Xavier, and himself labored against all odds was to be superceded by mass mobilization in which individual feats of spiritual or saintly prowess might be detrimental and counterproductive. Loyola stood before a perennial paradox facing any new social movement, political or ideological party, religious order, or sect: how to canalize the erratic enthusiasm of zealous participants into sustained and orderly political/religious/military action.

In the well-known and still applicable terminology of Victor Turner, the question is how to negotiate a passage from an existential or spontaneous communitas into a normative communitas.[4] While preserving and fostering missionary enthusiasm based on a forceful combativeness and expansion at all costs, the dilemma was how to prevent it from turning against itself. "Your spiritual infirmities," Loyola warned his young members, "may originate from the cold, the witness of lukewarmness, but also from the heat, as, for example, in excessive fervor."[5] Three years later, an experienced missionary, Francis Xavier, issued a similar caveat. He cautioned the members newly arriving in India from Europe, mostly from the Coimbra college, against the perils of unfounded and premature fervors. "I live in fear," he wrote from Kagoshima, "that Lucifer, having transfigured himself through his many tricks into the angel of light, might perturb some of you."[6] The result of such a demonic temptation may engender the feeling of self-worth and personal ambition, leading to false hopes and impatience. One of the remedies against the exterior forces of evil and interior weakness is "to refer all your desires, judgments, and opinions to your superior while having faith, hope, and confidence in God our Lord that he would through his mercy make him [the superior] sense what is convenient for your spiritual well-being."[7]

Both Xavier and Loyola, therefore, grounded their own strategic exercise of power in the celestially sanctioned authority that manifested itself in the "movements of the will" communicated to the worldly ap-

pointed Jesuit hierarchy. The validity and normative sanction of this trickle-down, pyramidal decision-making structure had to be justified, legitimized, and empowered at every step of its evolution against multiple volitional acts created sui generis from inside the institution itself. The process of codification through the proliferation of written rules and regulations, from the *Constitutions* to *Ratio Studiorum* to the *Directory of the Spiritual Exercises,* would in the long run alleviate some of the uncertainties.[8] By fixing and arresting the system of observed norms, the structural force may smooth for a certain period of time, but not forever, of course, the circulation of power and authority within the institutional limits.

In the late 1540s, the limits of the possible and the experimental were wide open, dangerously so for the success of the "little Company." In particular, the lack of a clear distinction between the prerogatives of the self-fashioned charismatic personalities, inspired by and flourishing around the ideal images of the founding fathers and the legal ordering of the institutional bodies, brought forth various internal and external affairs or crises, or in the terminology of the period, scandals. The letter to the Jesuit residents at the Coimbra college was also indirectly addressed as a rebuke to Simão Rodrigues, whose responsibility and duty as the provincial of Portugal was to direct and supervise this most promising Jesuit community. There were about eighty scholastics in the college when Loyola's letter reached it in late 1547, and many of them were destined to be sent to the overseas and interior missions upon completion of their education. Xavier's letter from Kagoshima confirms Loyola's intuitions about the detrimental consequences of Rodrigues's permissive attitude toward the "spiritual follies" cultivated in the Coimbra college. However, Xavier's primary target was António Gomes, who had entered the Society in Coimbra in 1544 as a master of arts and doctor of theology and whose meteoric and unsuccessful Jesuit career will help us understand how the early institutional fractures resulting from the excess of charismatic energy deployed in tropical fields of Asia were ultimately resolved or condemned to repeat themselves. In Europe, a parallel and structurally connected drama took place in an emotional tug-of-war between Loyola and Rodrigues. In the long run, this led the founder and the first general of the order to develop in detail and with force the theory and practice of obedience as the hallmark of the Jesuit vocation.

Heading the Passage to India

António Gomes was a headstrong person in more than one sense of the word. As the only male issue of an aristocratic family in Ponta do Sol on the island of Madeira, he renounced his inheritance in favor of the Society of Jesus, which he joined in Coimbra on May 22, 1544.[9] Although only twenty-five years of age, he was already an accomplished scholar, although it was unclear where he had obtained his degree.[10] Early in his Jesuit career, Gomes was exposed to the seductive and charismatic, if somewhat self-tortured, father figure of Simão Rodrigues, who came to Coimbra in 1545. The story of public penances and sacred follies involving difficult degradation and ritual reversal performances—which Rodrigues introduced into the daily routine of the students—is quite notorious, if not yet well studied.[11] Thus Gomes was forced to run through the city in the dead of night, to exhort the citizens to refrain from mortal sins, and to perform menial jobs in sight of the whole town.[12] The improvisations allowed to the individual actors of this sacred street theater were quickly getting out of hand, precisely because they transgressed the limits of the aesthetic illusion and magic that sustain a real theater performance. Soon enough, town opinion split on the issue of the fervent behavior of the Jesuits, whose superiors themselves clashed within the walls of the college. The rector Martín de Santa Cruz and the famous preacher Francisco de Strada opposed Simão Rodrigues.[13] In the college, António Gomes remained one of the strongest supporters of Rodrigues's side, even when the former provincial returned to Lisbon and Luís Gonçalves da Câmara succeeded Santa Cruz as rector.[14]

This is the point at which António Gomes's first vaguely punitive or correctional exile began. In the course of his relatively short career, he would be forced to leave either "jobs" or places more often than an ordinary Jesuit. Given his civil status, education, and generous donation, each time his missionary or pastoral project came to a dead end of opposition, he was in fact promoted to a larger or more difficult task. Thus in 1549, Xavier tried to pacify and tame Gomes's endless impatience and his desire for heroic actions by promising him bigger things. "Everything will be done when the time comes: I am saving you for bigger things than you and the Father [Cosme de Torres] desire. In less than three years I will be sending you a letter to come reside in one of those big universities [in Japan], where you will perhaps experience

more consolation."[15] Emulating the zealous display and gestures of the founders did not serve Gomes well. Loyola's and Xavier's cry for "more, more, more," enshrined in every hagiography written since, was not considered fitting in his case.

However, away from the frowning gaze of his superiors, things were easier. At the head of a small group of Jesuits sent to São Fins, close to Portugal's northwest frontier, Gomes was able to excel in his missionary work. Although he had been officially sent to take some rest and unofficially to cool down from his Coimbra fervors, Gomes turned his mission into a conquest of the region. He and his companions preached and greatly impressed local populations in villages and towns between Douro and Minho, including Braga and Porto.[16] He also made efforts to organize the Jesuit community in São Fins in accordance with the rules and regulations of the Coimbra college, a very rigorous and strict regimen of penance and work. From Portugal to Rome, Gomes's success and methods were celebrated in the letters of his confreres.[17] At the Coimbra college, encouraged by Gomes's deeds, the fervors of the inmates continued to a point that even Rodrigues had to admit to Santa Cruz that "these people are all for extremes." This was, perhaps, the reason for sending the "hothead" even farther away to India, in spite of his improvement.[18]

Again, at the head of the mission and highly recommended in the patent letters sent to Xavier, Gomes embarked on the ship *Galega* (or *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*) with a companion, Paulo do Vale, and three scholastics, one of whom, Luís Fróis, would turn out to be one of the most prolific and talented Jesuit writers. The second ship, *São Pedro,* carried five more Jesuits, among whom were the Fleming Gaspar Barzaeus and Baltasar Gago. This latter group was headed by Melchior Gonçalves. All of the members of the Jesuit crew on both ships were alumni of the Coimbra college and were infected with a zealous determination to suffer for the salvation of the world and of themselves. They all had a sense of mission, some perhaps more than others, as they were to prove in their missionary fields in Asia.[19] Separated near the Canary Islands, the two ships proceeded individually on their voyages, their stories told by most of the Jesuit passengers in their letters sent to Europe by the end of 1548. The signs of a wonderful and auspicious beginning of their mission were all there, read in the fury of nature and the seas and in the Jesuits' extraordinary power to tame and calm both the elements and humans. They tended to the sick on the

boat, and many of them died; they improved the unruly behavior of the professional sailors; and, when necessary, they performed miracles.

Gomes's leadership qualities and predisposition were revealed during the difficult sea voyage. Besides the daily chores of pastoral work, near Mozambique a miraculous kind of augury confirmed his special position at the head of the expedition. Paulo do Vale, an eyewitness, described the event a few months after arriving in Vembar on the Fishery Coast (Costa da Pescaria) in the extreme south of India, where he was to work and to die of exhaustion (or consumption) in 1552.[20] He says that what happened to the *Galega* on August 5 seven leagues from Mozambique was a divine ordeal. Stuck on a reef at ebb tide with the rudder in the air, the ship was in real danger of breaking apart and sinking. As the ship continued to hit the rock, with the roaring sound of wood shattering, each time producing fear and confusion among the people "who saw themselves at the moment of death without consolation," the professional sailors proved inefficient.[21] At this point, António Gomes appeared in the center of the scene. Along with exhorting everyone to trust in God and providing words of consolation "as a good pastor in place of Christ our Redeemer," he took "the sacred head, and immediately the fifth blow [hit the ship] in a frightful way." As the ship started swaying and the crew cut the moorings and pulled in the front sails, Gomes came out with the head of one of the eleven thousand virgin martyrs of Cologne (St. Geracina) in one hand, while his secretary Luís Fróis held him by the other. The people spontaneously formed a procession on the ship, candles lit, as the ship slowly resumed its course on the high seas.[22]

The same story was retold in other letters and later histories, even after the name of António Gomes had become more of an embarrassment than an asset. In the secondhand account written by Barzaeus for the Coimbra college in December 1548, the unnecessary and tedious details of the actual shipwreck—which his source, Paulo do Vale, had provided—were omitted.[23] A shorter, more compact, and better-framed version of the events was therefore concocted for the delectation and edification of the larger Jesuit audience. Not yet a literary creation, Barzaeus's rendering is certainly a more literate narrative, placing strategic emphasis on the symbols of authority—the miraculous arrival of the ship in India, the rudder in the air at the moment of maritime crisis, the holy head of the virgin as a successful intercessor. Built into the story are, in fact, certain facts and expectations. Simão Rodrigues quite

explicitly sent Gomes to India to take over the "rudder" of the College of Saint Paul from an ailing (and complaining) Nicolò Lancilotto. As soon as Gomes arrived on October 9, Lancilotto resigned the post of rector in Gomes's favor with a sigh of relief. Thus he reported to Rome that Gomes's qualities and profile corresponded perfectly to this region (*per questa terra*) because he was "as fervent as the people here are tepid." In Lancilotto's words of admiration, Gomes's preaching, the like of which had never been heard before in that part of the world, "made his listeners come out of themselves."[24] Melchior Gonçalves, among others, noted in a letter a sudden change in the life of this economically prosperous and dynamic but spiritually backward Portuguese colonial town. He described it in terms of a metaphor of fire being set by Gomes and those brothers who arrived that year (of whom he was one). Preaching and sermons in the College of Saint Paul, he insisted, had overcome "the coldness of the people and the disposition of the country," and "the thing is growing."[25]

When the ship *Galega* finally reached the safe harbor of Goa, Francis Xavier had already gone to pay his last visit to the Parava mission on the Fishery Coast. About the same time, a rumor had spread in Goa concerning Xavier's sudden, cruel death. Bereaved, some of his devotees were ready to organize an expedition to bring back or rescue his body in order to "canonize it." They were ready to pay thirty thousand ducats, according to Barzaeus.[26] And it is precisely in this short period, in which one head (Xavier) seemed to have been lost, that Gomes's leadership qualities resurfaced and were taken for granted, especially by those Jesuits who arrived that same autumn from the Coimbra college. Melchior Gonçalves addressed him as *Superior* in the same letter in which he cautiously forwarded the rumors of Xavier's demise.[27] In the middle of the extraordinary feats of penance and religious fury the Jesuits orchestrated, the town of Goa turned into another Coimbra. Any occasion was good enough for a public display of emotional piety.

Two Sundays in a row, Gomes managed to organize and keep enthusiasm high for the translation of the head-relic of one of the eleven thousand virgins.[28] On October 14, the relic was ceremoniously brought from the ship to the cathedral, and in the evening, in a procession that consisted of Governor Garcia de Sá, Bishop Juan de Albuquerque, and other noble people, it was "collocated in its place in the aforesaid college [Saint Paul]," where António Gomes delivered a moving speech.[29]

The head in search of a place—and an audience, one might add—was at the center of the religious frenzy once again on October 21, its feast day, and "many came to offer themselves to the head." When Baltasar Gago, whom Gomes appointed minister of the house, celebrated his first Mass a week later, the crowd of people before the college had to be redirected to the porch and the cloister.[30]

Fervors and Reforms: The College of St. Paul in Goa

Having thus enshrined the sacred head as the hub of the moral universe he planned to establish in Goa, as if the old foundations planted by Xavier were not adequate, Gomes proceeded lower down the political body of the Christian enclave. He ordered Barzaeus to start a special kind of mortification, reminiscent of those practiced in Coimbra under Simão Rodrigues's guidance. The target was the governor's table, that is, a free meal offered at intervals to up to six hundred poor Portuguese, especially soldiers and fidalgos. According to another Gaspar, the historian Correa, these occasions often ended in disputes, even clashes with knives, and one time the principal instigator was arrested and ultimately hanged.[31] Barzaeus insisted, however, that the silence that reigned during the meal at which he gave "the best sermon [he] ever gave in India" was the result of spiritual awakening and judicial menace underscored by the prospect of the gallows.[32] This judicial menace, of course, was of use in the Jesuit mise-en-scène of penitential enactment. The spectacle of punishment by hanging provided a *tableau vivant,* so to speak, against which a rhetoric and imagery, developed as part of the training in giving and taking Loyola's spiritual exercises, could pass into the practice of psychological healing and social engineering. Predictably, for All Saints' Day of 1548, Gomes chose to preach in the Church of Nossa Senhora da Luz, on the southern side of the town next to the gallows. According to Gonçalves, he delivered his sermon as they "lowered from the gallows [the body] of a recently hanged person."[33] Against a suitable decor, with a dead body before their eyes and perhaps reminded of all the dead bodies they could imagine, the audience and Gomes himself sobbed and choked in a profusion of tears (*un corriente de lágrimas*).

In the positive sense, the dead body was also a privileged metaphor for the virtue of complete obedience. In the *Constitutions,* written be-

tween 1547 and 1550, Loyola reiterated the usual imagery by stating that

> We ought to be firmly convinced that everyone of those who live under obedience ought to allow himself to be carried and directed by Divine Providence through the agency of the superior as if he were a lifeless body which allows itself to be carried to any place and to be treated in any manner desired, or as if he were an old man's staff which serves in any place and in any manner whatsoever in which the holder wishes to use it.[34]

Only by means of a thorough mortification of the body, and of the senses in particular, was one to arrive closer to the Jesuit ideal of blind but joyful obedience. After setting ablaze the rocks, as Tomé Lobo wrote to the king of Portugal in 1548, let alone the hearts, with his moving, emotional sermons, António Gomes rapidly assumed the duty for which Simão Rodrigues had specifically sent him.[35] As an appointed rector, he took over the spiritual and temporal administration of the College of St. Paul in Goa and within a month came to the conclusion that it was in need of quick and profound reform. What the institution lacked, according to his appraisal, was precisely the guidance for and practice of mortification and the proper authority to enforce obedience and order.

At the time of his arrival in Goa, the college had been in Jesuit hands for almost six years. But the responsibility for its administration was technically still shared between *mordomos* (majordomo) appointed by the Confraria de Santa Fé (Confraternity of the Holy Faith), the institution that had founded the college in 1541, intending it exclusively for the education of indigenous Christian boys.[36] The income for the construction and upkeep of the college and various other chapels on the territory of Ilhas (the islands of Goa) was to be provided from the land revenue formerly assigned to the temples (pagodas), which at this point had already been destroyed. After a brief period of negotiations between the chief *gancares* (Konkani, *gaonkar,* village headman), various other Hindu leaders, and Portuguese officials, including Governor Dom Estevão da Gama, it was agreed that the villages were to pay a lump sum of two thousand *tangas brancas* annually.[37] Thus, the non-Christian natives were to finance institutions responsible for spreading the faith through assistance to the new converts and through the education of the boys

destined to become low-level clerical employees, catechists, servants of the Portuguese clergy, and native priests assigned to these chaplaincies. At any rate, these were the conditions and obligations stipulated by the first compromisso (constitution). In the meantime, other agencies of the Estado da Índia and private parties contributed money for its various apostolic ventures, from the costs of public baptism ceremonies to the establishment of a hospital for the natives across the street from the college. To keep up with the Jesuits' changing financial conditions, diversified activities, and increasingly important role in the college, a new Compromisso was written in 1546.[38]

In terms of recruitment policy, the young boys accepted in the college were presumed to be *moços da terra* (native boys), while, to prevent racial disorders, Portuguese and *mestiço* (mixed) children had no access to this institution.[39] According to Lancilotto, "if we accept Portuguese with these blacks, they will always be quarreling and saying: You are black and I am white, you are a slave and I am born free. The mestiços of this land do not have a good reputation; consequently no one expects any good of them."[40] Even among some thirteen "nations"—Kanarese, Malabars, Paravas, Bengalis, Abyssinians, Chinese, Peguese, Macassarese, and so forth—represented in the colleges, there were very few promising young students, Lancilotto reported in 1545 when he had only started the Latin grammar class.[41] Most of them were real barbarians and uncivilized, blabbering Portuguese like parrots (*psytachi*), but without any understanding of virtue or Christianity.[42] A few years later, some of the students, whose number grew from sixty to eighty and more, did distinguish themselves in learning and piety, but none of them was considered suitable to join the Jesuit order.[43]

In his typical grumbling mode, Lancilotto complained about almost everything concerning the College of St. Paul—his lack of temporal authority over students, some of whom were too old and prone to immorality and should have been dismissed (or whipped), and even about Xavier's (presumed negligence of and) absence from Goa. He wrote to Simão Rodrigues, "one might say that it was as if Master Francis were in Constantinople and we were in Portugal and we should not get an answer from him for a year or more."[44] Lancilotto, who had not seen Xavier when he arrived in India in 1545, found in general in his other letters of the same period that the future saint of the Indies left the various barely started projects in Goa, such as the College of St. Paul, in a chaotic state. In a letter to Ignatius of Loyola, he complained about

Xavier's unsystematic way of setting up missions and rearranging the few Jesuit recruits he had at his disposal.[45] He also hinted at Xavier's apostolic megalomania, compulsive obsession with traveling, and number of conversions at the cost of neglecting more mundane affairs such as the daily drudgery of administering the college in Goa. Hence his tongue-in-cheek addendum in the letter to Loyola: "Master Francis can take care of us from the place where he is just as if he were in Rome, and he knows little about this college. He could never remain here. I believe that he is driven by the Spirit of God to those regions."[46] Finally, Lancilotto, tired of waiting to meet or hear from Xavier, enunciated in 1547 two basic principles that in the long run would in fact supercede the early erratic, itinerant, and charismatic apostolic ministry in Asia.

> I am of the opinion that the best means for converting these people would be the founding of colleges like the one which we are now in, so that we might teach natives who could better endure the hardships of the land; and that the priests who come here should have fixed areas in which to work; and that they took pains to learn the languages, for little or no fruit is gained through an interpreter; and in order to effect this, it is necessary that a priest of learning and authority should come here, for it seems to me that Master Francis will not return.[47]

The leader was obviously missing in Goa. In 1548, upon his return from Southeast Asia to Kochi and already full of plans for traveling to and converting Japan, Xavier wrote to the same effect to Loyola, demanding that a learned and experienced priest be sent as a superior for the Jesuits in India.[48]

When, on October 9, 1548, António Gomes, the newly appointed rector, did arrive, Xavier was again absent, and the new head, caparisoned with all the symbols and gestures of authority, was allowed to display his own aura of charisma, stealing the show from the first apostle in the Indies. Gomes's (life) story at once replicated Xavier's. In the correspondence relating the memorable events in Goa, he features as a kind of new prodigy, a wonder, a miracle worker, a grand communicator, a judge, and an angel. In the absence of Xavier, but in his image, Gomes's presence and his actions organized a space—a Jesuit space and a space of his own—framed between two extremes: rupture/rapture and structure. Thus he delivered a sermon every day in a ritualized but highly charged emotional environment and devoted the rest

of the time to the nitty-gritty, down-to-earth administrative problems and politics. In this scheme of things, however, each foundational act begins with a point of rupture, or in other words, an individual, spiritual fervor works itself out in a series of institutional authorizations, most of which aim at a complete reconfiguration of the already conquered territory. Gomes started with the College of St. Paul.

Lancilotto's complaints about the mordomos' hold over temporal administration were quickly overcome under the new rector's rule. One of the principal founders, Cosme Anes, gave him free rein "over the money and the house, for more security."[49] The immediate result of the full Jesuit administration under Gomes was a coup d'état, which turned what was initially a unique educational institution in Asia established for the natives into a Jesuit college, an Indian Coimbra, or, as its rector preferred to call it, an "all-India university" (*universidade de toda a Índia*). At the College of St. Paul, according to the ever-disgruntled Lancilotto, Gomes "gave everything a new form" (*nova forma in tutto*) and in his hasty actions showed that "he has more talent for preaching and hearing confessions than for ruling and commanding."[50] The newfangled reforms consisted of following to the letter the order of studies and religious life as they were prescribed for the students of the order in Coimbra. Gomes was aware, as he reported to Simão Rodrigues, that the native boys who were already in the college were not up to that task. "Among them there are some with good intelligence and good inclinations [*engenhos bons et boas yncrinações*], but they have no spirit."[51] Even though some engaged in Loyola's spiritual exercises, he insisted, "no fruit came out of it." His statement conflicted with the opinion of Cosme de Torres, the director of the retreat, who reported that Diogo de Moçambique, Paulo Guzerate, Manuel China, and André Vaz accomplished the spiritual exercises with "the great gift of tears and an understanding of Our Lord."[52]

If Gomes disregarded the achievements of individual moços da terra—André Vaz, *o Canarim* (native of Goa), was at the time employed as a Latin teacher in the college—he did so to justify the rather controversial move of dismissing the native boys and admitting Portuguese students. The way he broke the news to Simão Rodrigues reveals a certain rhetorical hesitance and convolution. "By the experience that I have and the customs in which these boys are rooted (*postos*), who do not know anything about either mortification or spirit, I find it very difficult to do here the work that I know Your Reverence wants

and desires to be done, and Master Francisco [Xavier] told me the same during the time he remained here."[53] The intention to remove the native students from the college was thus rhetorically attributed to the two higher Jesuit authorities, Rodrigues and Xavier, transforming the product of Gomes's own volition into an act of obedience. This was a skillful and, in the long run, quite common way in which the Jesuit principle of obedience was deflected and turned against itself, for better or for worse.

Gomes both succeeded and failed in his reform of the College of St. Paul. The native students were separated from the newly accepted Portuguese students and, according to Lancilotto, a few climbed the wall and ran away from the college.[54] On the other hand, a number of the Portuguese students who entered the Company of Jesus in Goa, as well as the Jesuits who came from Coimbra with Gomes in 1548, were dismissed by Xavier in 1552 or left of their own will sometime later. Yet the college became the backbone of Jesuit apostolic enterprises in Asia, providing appropriate higher education to the Jesuit scholastics and an elementary schooling for Portuguese, mestiço, and native boys and serving as the central institution for some three hundred similar colleges in Asia. Famous for their activities in the College of St. Paul, the Jesuits were commonly known in Goa as *Paulistas,* a name that continued to be used for centuries to come.[55] However, the name of António Gomes would not be honored among the founding fathers of the college. In fact, it would even be erased, scratched out of the Jesuit letters in which it had originally appeared.

Tête à tête: Gomes and Xavier

During the last months of 1548 Gomes's reputation among the Jesuits had resumed a rapid rise, but his face-to-face encounter with Francis Xavier, who returned briefly and unexpectedly to Goa before embarking on his new pet project in the Far East, did not go all that well. In a letter to Rodrigues, Gomes unwittingly portrayed Xavier as falling under his spell.[56] In a euphoric mode, he even treated Rodrigues—who still considered leaving Portugal for India on his way to the Ethiopian mission of Prester John—in the somewhat condescending manner often assumed by a person of greater experience. In describing his social interactions in the city, it is also clear that he was hobnobbing with the

highest Portuguese secular officials and that he considered them equals, if not his inferiors. As for Xavier, Gomes wrote, he was both content and surprised at the directions the Company took. What appeared to have been new to him was that the Jesuit spin doctors in Rome and Lisbon said the colleges were to be the most important instruments both for the purpose of proselytism and for the spread of the Company throughout India (*dilatar a Companhia por toda a Yndia*). Thus, new places and sites were to be selected for colleges in Baçaim (Bassein), Chale (Chaliyam), Cochin (Kochi), Coulam (Quilon, Kollam), Malaqua (Melaka), Maluquo (Moluccas), and all other places where Jesuit priests were to reside.

Xavier, however, was not that impressed. Away from Goa, in Kochi and joined by Lancilotto, who shared his suspicions about the new rector, Xavier had enough time to think over Gomes's plans for the Company in India, his zeal and fervor, and his ambitions. In January of 1549, he clearly expressed some of his doubts about Gomes's character and about his ability to head the Jesuits in India. Thus he demanded that Loyola appoint a new superior for India, "one who knows how to command without giving the impression that he is eager to command or to compel obedience, but rather to be himself obedient."[57] Although it was Simão Rodrigues, the provincial of Portugal, who had selected Gomes for the position of the superior, Xavier prudently applied directly to Loyola to secure his replacement. In a letter written ten days later, on January 20, 1549, he informed Rodrigues calmly and with a great deal of circumspection about the changes he intended to effect within the Jesuit ranks in Goa. "Because of the lack of preachers and spiritual persons, many Portuguese live apart from our law. Since I see that they are in such great need, I shall send António Gomez to Dío [Diu] or Ormuz [Hurmuz], since God our Lord has given him so much talent and zeal for preaching, hearing confessions, and giving Spiritual Exercises and conversing with the Christians; and Maestro Gaspar will remain in the College of the Holy Faith [or St. Paul's in Goa]."[58] Xavier must have understood by 1549 that there were, in fact, two different though equally important apostolic fields in Asia: one among the Portuguese and another among the gentiles and infidels. With his special appeal to Portuguese audiences, partly because of his developed rhetorical skills in preaching and his aristocratic posture of authority, Gomes appeared perfectly suitable for the former. He might have also appeared unsuitable for the latter since for ruling others, one "must be meek and

kind . . . and not strict; and he must do all in his power to be loved by them . . . both the native Indians and those of the Society . . . so that they do not get the impression that he wishes to exact obedience through rigor or servile fear."[59] Moreover, to clarify his point even further and to obliquely disqualify Gomes, Xavier proposed to accept in India, to work among the infidels, all those who were not important in Rome or in other parts and were neither good preachers nor learned, as long as they were mortified and experienced.[60] The portrait of a perfect missionary for India was therefore in direct conflict with Gomes's apostolic profile. On top of everything, Gomes was excessively hard on the Jesuits themselves, reported Xavier, since he publicly boasted about his mandate to send those who opposed his ideas back to Portugal in iron chains. Such threats "did not edify those of the Company." Thus, concluded Xavier, "The Company of Jesus should mean the Company of love and conformity of souls [minds] (*animos*)."[61]

There was an important point of agreement between Gomes and Xavier. Both branded the native Indians, whether Muslim or pagan, as being not only ignorant but also difficult to convert due to their lack of civilized customs. In addition, the Company of Jesus "could not be perpetuated by them." Xavier's disappointment with Indians, whom he regarded as barbarians, inconstant, and liars, was even greater in light of his expectations of meeting the Japanese, who were "white people" (*gemte branca*), "neither Jews nor Muslims," and "curious and desirous to know new things of God."[62] Admittedly, part of the problem in India was the Portuguese and their unruly and un-Christian behavior. Missionaries like Gomes, Xavier reckoned, could be employed to remedy these abuses among their compatriots, all of whom resided in one of the fifteen fortresses in Asia, including Diu and Hurmuz. Beyond these small Portuguese enclaves, Xavier had already had a chance to glimpse the vast territories of paganism, horrible and exciting at the same time, where the Portuguese secular arm and padroado had little power—and that was precisely where he was headed. This is the reason why he was, in fact, quite generous and conciliatory toward his charismatic Portuguese rival Gomes in early 1549. The distances (some of which he recorded in his letter) that separated these fortresses from Goa and one another, many of which were already dotted with one or more *Padri della Compagnia,* allowed for a wide spectrum of charismatic, fervent, or zealous Jesuit leaders.

The confrontation between Xavier and Gomes came to a head when

the latter refused to obey and used his aristocratic Portuguese connections to defy the orders. In Xavier's letters written at that time, before, as he put it, "fleeing to Japan . . . not to lose more time than in the past" (*fujimdo pera Yapam por nam perder mais tempo do pasado*), the saint was increasingly critical of Portuguese violence against newly converted Christians.[63] Already in 1545, he portrayed Cosme de Paiva, a captain of the Fishery Coast, and his like, the factors and other royal officials, as no more than brigands and bandits. "Of them it can rightly be said that they must be deleted from the book of life and not reckoned with the just [Ps. 68:29], . . . since all go the way of *rapio, rapis* (I steal, you steal). And I am astonished at seeing how those who come from there find so many modes, tenses, and participles for this poor word *rapio, rapis*."[64] This extremely unfavorable appraisal of Portuguese temporal presence appeared in a postscript intended for Simão Rodrigues and was probably meant as a personal and strategic message since, in another letter written on the same day but addressed to the members in Rome as a way of enticing them to the mission, the Portuguese "nation" in India appears charitable, full of love, and desirous to spread the faith.[65]

His letter to João III, written from Kochi in January 1549, is a very strong statement against abuses committed by royal officials and private traders, all of whom, in his impassioned view, through their actions divested even the royal person himself of power and authority. As the head of the Portuguese padroado, the king had the highest privileges, as well as duties. It was therefore Xavier's task to enlighten him about certain facts of life in the tropics: that besides "the power to take and possess all the temporal wealth of India . . . , Your Highness does not have the power to spread the faith of Christ in India."[66] The remedy that he proposed for curing these disorders was that the jurisdiction over the native Christians be officially conferred to the Jesuit superiors and/or bishops. To this end, Xavier had entrusted to Vicar General Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, who was returning to Portugal by the next fleet, a memorandum containing important issues to be discussed with the king about the implementation of a protective policy vis-à-vis *christãos da India* (Indian Christians) in Goa, on the Fishery Coast, in the kingdom of Kōttē on Ceylon, and by anticipation in Japan.[67] Frey António do Casal, the guardian and the superior of the Franciscan mission on Ceylon, also wrote to João III to inform him that the Portuguese in his mission territory did not favor new Christians.[68]

When Xavier decided to briefly return to Goa before his long and

risky passage to Japan, it suddenly dawned on him that in his absence António Gomes had already taken the rudder of the Company in his hands, not entirely to Xavier's satisfaction. For example, Gaspar Barzaeus's unexpected appearance in Kochi with detailed instructions to open a college in Chale for the training of the newly admitted Portuguese students in Goa was somewhat of a shock to Xavier.[69] Until then, Xavier had been the only authority to move his subalterns on the missionary chessboard, and those who dared to oppose him had been promptly dismissed. Even though the project of the college was abandoned under the pretext of the lack of Jesuits in India, once in Goa, Xavier ordered Gomes to take up the job in Hurmuz. He was soon persuaded to back down, since Barzaeus was not at all keen on being appointed rector of the college of St. Paul.[70] In addition, Portuguese officials, Cosme Anes among them, pleaded wholeheartedly for Gomes.[71] The fact that Barzaeus was a foreigner (a Fleming), not Portuguese, and that his first sermon was a flop due to his weak voice tipped the scale in favor of Gomes, whose reputation as an excellent preacher was well-known.

But Xavier did set up certain checks and balances against Gomes's charismatic expansion. Gomes, Lancilotto reported in detail to Loyola in 1550,

> took the charge [of the superior] with so much fervor and so much austerity that it was necessary for Master Francis to remedy [the situation]. The remedy he gave was that António Gomes would not be in charge of us others; but because he was esteemed and accepted by the people of Goa for his sermons . . . , Master Francis ordered that António Gomes be in charge of the college of Santa Fe [or St. Paul's] . . . until the new order from Rome or Portugal.[72]

In a word, while Gomes remained a rector with jurisdiction over the students, Paulo de Camerino was appointed superior for the regular Jesuit members.[73] At this point, it is clear that the two key words attributed the highest sense of pious abandonment in the Jesuit college of Coimbra, designating the threshold states leading to perfect abnegation and mortification, assumed negative connotations in the Indian mission. The semantic field to which they were assigned was impinged upon by illness, weakness, and even perversion and diabolic influence. As a matter of fact, the holy fervors of the kind introduced by Simão

Rodrigues in Coimbra, including excessive self-abasement, were rejected in favor of an ever-cheerful face (*rosto alegre*), impressing others through love and kindness, mild speech and prudence.[74] In a parallel set of instructions given to Paulo de Camerino, Xavier's major concern seems to have been preventing discord and quarrels that might ensue with António Gomes. He repeated a few times that Gomes's choices and decisions concerning the collegians were to be respected and the superior was on no account to interfere with them.[75] Just as perfect obedience is a mode of self-abnegation, so is the exercise of authority, commanding, and governing. Both Ignatius of Loyola, in his Roman office of the *praepositus generalis,* and Xavier, on a pirate's ship in the middle of the Southeast Asian sea, came to understand that authority is a burden and that, in desiring it, one had to have in mind the universal good and the "greater glory of God."[76] It should not be used in "vain greed" (*vã cobiça*), as Luís de Camões lapidarily put it a few decades later in his *Lusíadas.*

Although far from Goa, Xavier continued to admonish Gomes in a letter from Melaka (June 1549) to show "charity, friendship, and love" to those he had to command or persuade since one "should seek more to be greatly loved by the brothers than to wish to command them."[77] In the meantime, however, he wrote to Rodrigues to resend "someone who has served in the college of Coimbra as rector, or who was qualified to do so, and who was a person who would not suffer in his conscience from the office, for the office of giving orders is very dangerous for those who are not perfect and possessed of great perfection, as you well know."[78] Xavier's final conclusion was that António Gomes had no qualifications "to be in charge of the brothers in India and of the college" and was to be sent to preach in the fortresses of India. The rule seems to have been that the less one desired to command, the more one was qualified to do so. Among the letters Xavier opened in Melaka in December of 1551 was his official appointment to the post of *praepositus provincialis.*[79] Elliptically and in somewhat obscure language, Loyola confirmed Xavier's decisions concerning Gomes, with a proviso that he should renounce his office "voluntarily," significantly adding in the next sentence a warning not to handle Portuguese affairs (especially about the problems caused by Simão Rodrigues in Lisbon) without respect or "freely."[80]

Xavier's life was an experiment in "making oneself loved" (*se fazer muito amar*), and one of the strategies was to insist on entering the

house (*portas adentro*) of the person in question, to enter his mind and heart. As in a famous injunction from Loyola, which became the central topos of Jesuit conversion psychology, a missionary had to enter the door of the other to make him come out (of his house, of himself). In a letter from Kagoshima in late 1549, Xavier pleaded with Gomes to write to him about his "interior things" (*couzas interiores*) because, he insisted, "I wish you greater spiritual good than you do yourself," all the while promising him bigger things in the future, such as residing in one of the famous Japanese universities.[81]

Gomes's Mobile Missions and Noble Conversions

Gomes, of course, had plans of his own. Just like Xavier, he saw his apostolic role in Asia as being larger than that of a rectorship at the College of St. Paul. And just like his mentor in Portugal, Simão Rodrigues, he saw himself as the king's confessor or confidant, but here in the Indian setting of a pagan turned Christian king. In the absence of readily available native kings in Goa, he was easily attracted by the project of converting local headmen and social elites. While ministering to the prisoners in jail, Gaspar Barzaeus met Locu (Loku), "the chief of the Brahmans in this land . . . and one of the principal heads (*cabeças*) of the pagans."[82] While the prisoners' visitors, among them Dadaji, the son of another headman, the *tanador-mor* (chief revenue and judicial authority in the district) Crisna (Krishna), laughed at Barzaeus, Loku proved to be more attentive. Conveniently, a few days later Loku called for António Gomes and asked to be baptized. This was an elegant way out of his difficult situation and the pending court cases for corruption, bribery, and failure to pay his leaseholder obligations.[83] According to Bishop Juan de Albuquerque, the "whip" of poverty and want was sent by God to move his heart.[84] Loku, whom the Portuguese also called *o Comprido* (the tall one), made the right, long-term, strategic choice since the tide of history in this tiny enclave was increasingly turning against all vestiges of paganism.[85] Thus, with unexpected political bravado, he turned the tables on his local rivals like Krishna and Gopu and their clientele. On the other hand, Gomes also proved his own political weight and acumen by securing Loku's release from prison and by appointing García de Sá, the governor, Loku's godfather. On October 21, 1548, Loku became Lucas de Sá, his wife Dona Isabel, and his

nephew Dom Antonio.[86] The event was an occasion for public celebration. The streets were adorned with palms, just as, in Barzaeus's view, "the firs were placed in the Roxio in Lisbon for the day of the Resurrection." The festivities continued for a whole week and included a procession in which the neophytes paraded on horses in the company of other Brahmans and Portuguese fidalgos.

From the time of his arrival on October 9, Gomes's apostolic calendar could not have been busier. Besides the busy weekdays, filled by confessions, sermons, visitations, and prayers, all Sundays were marked out for special programs: October 14—the translation of the holy head-relic of St. Geracina, one of the eleven thousand virgins from Cologne; October 21—Loku's baptism; October 28—Gago's first Mass; November 11—All Saints' Day; and so on. Public enthusiasm was mounting, according to contemporary reports, and conversions in the villages on the Ilhas snowballed.[87] Loku was reputed to have said that he would convert more people than he had hairs on his body.[88] Gomes's public spectacles of baptism were also useful in his recruitment campaign for more Jesuit members. After the first three fidalgos, two of whom were André de Carvalho and Dom Diogo Lobo, more followed, and according to Baltasar Gago, Gomes had by October 1549 admitted twenty of them into the Company.[89] To accommodate their needs, Gomes opened the doors of the College of St. Paul, at the same time closing them to the native students, and it was for them that he wanted to establish a separate Jesuit novitiate in Chale (Chaliyam). Xavier stopped the latter project and was not impressed with these newfangled noble Portuguese Jesuits. He wrote to Rodrigues, "those who here enter the Company are not [good enough] to leave colleges because they have neither letters [education] nor virtues nor the spirit to go out to convert the gentiles."[90]A few years later, in April 1552, he would reiterate the same judgment and openly condemn Gomes's policy of "making [Jesuits] in my absence."[91]

Since Xavier, his superior, frowned upon and dismissed most of Gomes's projects in Goa, he directed his energies beyond Portuguese territory. From April until September 1549, he resided in part in Tanur (Tanor in Portuguese), close to the Portuguese fortress in Chale, and in part traveled down the Malabar Coast. Officially, he had been sent by Bishop Juan de Albuquerque to instruct the king, who had been secretly converted to Christianity the previous year and who, in Gomes's words, was "a man of good prudence and knowledge and, in what he shows,

he does not aspire to anything more than his salvation."[92] In fact, more than or in addition to his spiritual salvation, the king of Tanur banked on Portuguese temporal, that is, military, support. His priorities were quite clear when he wrote to the bishop, inviting "one father of the apostles to help Father vicar João Soares" and, if needed, "some people" for the fortress of Chale under orders from Captain Luís Xira Lobo.[93] Accompanied by musical instruments, "charamellas e trombetas (shawms and trumpets)," Gomes pompously arrived in Tanur and brought with him his interpreter Pedro Luís (*Bramane*), as well as sixty Portuguese soldiers with their young captain (*mancebo fidalguo*) García de Sá, nephew (and namesake) of the governor. Just like Lucas de Sá, Dom João of Tanur had practical reasons for seeking rapprochement with the Portuguese, and in their experience, conversion proved to be the most expedient strategy at that particular point in time.[94]

In his effort to solidify his position vis-à-vis the zamorin of Calicut, and given his long-standing good relations with the Portuguese, he had made his desire to convert known in 1545. But the ecclesiastical community in Goa found the whole enterprise, which included traveling with an official delegation of the most prominent Portuguese royal officials and religious heads to Tanur to baptize him, too risky.[95] Thus, Dom João de Castro, the governor, after taking counsel with Bishop Juan de Albuquerque and the Franciscan guardian of the Goan friary, Frey Paulo de Santarém, turned to other, more important matters of state and to his heroic military enterprises, such as the defense of Diu.[96] Francis Xavier might have taken up such a challenging task, but he was far away somewhere on the islands of the Moluccas (Maluku).

What is important in the king of Tanur's early, rebuffed offer to convert is that the concept of *accommodation,* although not mentioned *expressis verbis,* was invoked for the first time. The king had, namely, suggested to convert secretly, in order to preserve the external signs of his caste and religion, such as the (sacred Brahman) thread and other pagan rites. The unanimous opinion of the ecclesiastics in Goa was that such dissimulation went against the decisions of the church fathers.[97] By 1549, the situation had somewhat changed. The king had allowed himself to be secretly converted following a concerted effort by João Soares, the vicar in Chale, and the Franciscan Frey Vicente de Lagos, who gave the neophyte a metal crucifix to hang onto his thread, "hidden on his chest."[98] António Gomes, to whom the bishop proposed the mission at the court of Tanur, responded enthusiastically. His mobile apostolate

had begun—rather modest compared to Xavier's, but possibly more (immediately) rewarding since it was closer to Goa and, moreover, better suited his taste in "noble" conversion. Within five months, Gomes had managed to instruct the king of Tanur and his family in the Christian doctrine and had constructed a church there.[99] Finally, the king's wife was baptized Dona Maria, and the king and the queen were married in accordance with Christian rites, but all this, the bishop reminded the queen of Portugal in his letter, happened *ocultamente* (in secret).

Gomes's itinerant ministry in Malabar was part of a larger plan, according to Baltazar Gago.[100] This was especially the case because the new governor who succeeded García de Sá, Jorge Cabral, was "a man, very human and desirous to spread the faith (*acrecentamiento de la fee*)." Gomes was working toward "making the whole of Malabar Christian." To do so, he traveled by land and met local kings, in spite of great dangers, especially from arrows, since, according to Gago's information, all these kings were at war with each other. Besides enticing them to conversion, the missionary walked more than 250 leagues on foot to bring them to peace. The king of Tanur, "a big *cavalero* (nobleman), to whom the whole of Malabar belonged," was, therefore, only the first in line for conversion since all the others "have given him their word" to follow his example: "the Zamorin [*Çamorín*]; who is like an emperor, the Pepper King [*el-Rey de la pimenta*]," and many others. "This was the biggest thing done in India," concluded Gago.

At this point, the question whether to permit the king of Tanur to continue wearing "the external signs of a Brahman, [in spite of] having a heart firm in faith and believing in Jesus Christ" was discussed again during the council convened by Governor Jorge Cabral.[101] Bishop Juan de Albuquerque, changing his own former negative opinion, brought arguments and examples on behalf of such accommodating practices. "Joseph of Arimathaea [*ab Arimatia*] was a disciple of Our Lord, not an apostle, and this he was in secret and in concealment . . . [but] was a good man; Nicodemos and Guamaliel [Gamaliel] kept it inside their hearts, that is, the belief in O.L., and concealed it outside for fear of Jews." The insistence on the split between inside (soul) and outside (society), private and public, combined with the conscious strategic maintenance of a certain illusion for the sake of later triumph, marks a new policy in the conversion of the gentiles. The adiaphoristic justification overexploited by the Protestant theologians was, in fact, surreptitiously brought back into Catholic reflection on the methods of proselytism

among the civilized barbarians, as José de Acosta would laconically put it a few decades later. In this very first elaboration of what would ultimately become the method of accommodation in the writing of Alessandro Valignano, Matteo Ricci, Roberto Nobili, and many others, the bishop of Goa provided the necessary and much repeated framework within which it would be developed. Perhaps unwittingly at this particular moment, Juan de Albuquerque projected the early apostolic era, and thus the early apostolic methods, onto the contemporary Christianization of India. The straightforwardly military, coercive conversion practiced in Goa proved to be impossible in other regions in which the secular arm did not lend full support to the religious enterprise. Thence, a new imagery of the martyred church that fought for its territory by prudence, patience, strategic concealment of external signs, and, in case of a violent breach in the successful management of appearances, death seeped into the discursive space, especially via Jesuit missionary experience. In fact, a few months earlier, Antonio Criminali, an Italian Jesuit missionary, was decapitated by a Badaga soldier in Vēdālai, on the Fishery Coast.[102] This event might have given a decisive fillip to the theological softening and opening to the adaptive practices to be implemented, not without opposition, in the next two centuries.

Juan de Albuquerque, therefore, likened the king of Tanur to another

> St. Sebastian, the knight who served the emperors, [but] was Christian in heart, while for the outside he was dressed in *chlamys*, which was the garb worn by the knights of that time. . . . All the gentiles presumed that he was a gentile knight, because he wore exterior garments (*vestidura esterior*) just like them . . . until the time came to show himself Christian on the outside, having torn away the military garb and remaining in Christian clothes.[103]

Double identity provided a necessary secret space for the convert to come to terms with his own new persona and from which he would, shortly thereafter, start a whole set of seductions and manipulations to convert others. The bishop did not go as far as the proponents of accommodation during the last decades of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, who also claimed that Christianization did not mean Portugalization. Nor, as Nobili understood it and proposed for his New Madurai Mission, were pagan exterior signs to be built into Christian

worship and customs because, in his view, they belonged to the political, not to the religious or superstitious, sphere.

In 1549, in Goa, these revolutionary ideas bringing Jesuit missionaries to the verge of cultural (religious) relativism were virtually inconceivable. Hence, Albuquerque continued with his comparison: "It is the same in our case of Dom João de Tanur, who on the outside is dressed like others and in his heart wears the Catholic faith (*en seu coração traz vestida a fé catoliqua*), for the goal of converting many grandees and Nayars in his kingdom. . . . And when the time comes . . . he will break the Brahman thread, and will tear his old clothes and will be dressed in Christian clothes, which are Portuguese, just as the knight St. Sebastian did."[104] Condensing the temporal frames of his two protagonists—St. Sebastian and Dom João of Tanur—allows them to be neatly fitted one into another, the former turning by narrative ellipses into a Portuguese and the latter into a saint and martyr in anticipation. In Baltazar Gago's mythico-hagiographic description of Dom João's visit to Goa, the king assumes the proportions of a Christian hero in a typical *Acta sanctorum* (lives and deeds of the saints) discursive mode. He stands forth as a lonely athlete fighting his predestined way against all odds. For political reasons and fear of trouble, official Portuguese opinion was against his coming to Goa, and Governor Cabral wrote to him to that effect.[105] On the other hand, to stop him from leaving Tanur and from relinquishing paganism, his relatives and patrons employed all arguments, from threatening him with the force of "a thousand Nayars" to calling it "a folly" to leave the kingdom.[106] According to Gaspar Correa's detailed narrative, in the exchange of letters between Dom João and the zamorin, the king was promised honors and lands near the Panane (Ponnāni), but he refused it all and was finally locked in the fortress on the promontory of Deli near the temple of Marabia.[107] Protected by the "cross that he always carried with him," at night he untied his turban (*touca*) and, attaching to its end "some antlers he had found" (*huns cornos do veado que achou*), climbed up and jumped down three walls. In the end, with light wounds on his head and leg, he swam across the Kavvāyi River with the crucifix on top of his head, reaching a small boat (*barco*), and made his way to the Portuguese *fustas* (type of small boat) that were waiting at sea to take him to Goa.[108]

The beginning of Dom João's—in the long run unfinished—hagiography is one of multiple transfers: by land, by sea, and even in the air, as he jumped over the three high walls. His movement from Tanur to

Goa was plotted as an epic escape from the darkness (of paganism) to the light (of Christianity). In Goa, however, it turned into carnival. According to Juan de Albuquerque, Dom João received all the honors due a king, marked by three types of sounds: musical instruments such as *trombetas, atabales* (kettledrums), and *charamellas* (shawms); artillery discharges; and church bells. In this way, he was symbolically, or rather acoustically, co-opted into (or captured by) the Portuguese social, military, and religious orbit. At least for a short period of his stay in Goa, the king went "native"; he became a Portuguese because that was still the undisputed goal of conversion to Christianity. Thus, before entering the town, Dom João was "dressed in a Portuguese manner in honorable and rich clothes, with a very rich sword fastened [around the waist], with a rich dagger, one golden chain, black velvet slippers, a black velvet hat with a printed design (*com uma estampa*)."[109] Fittingly caparisoned, he was paraded through the equally bedecked streets animated by dances, mimes, and gypsies performing along the Rua Direita and led in a solemn procession from the palace to the cathedral for the Mass. The next day he visited the monasteries and, at the invitation of António Gomes, spent the night in the College of St. Paul. He was then confirmed by the bishop and, on October 27, Dom João embarked the fusta, loaded with honors and gifts, and returned home to Tanur.

Even if Dom João did honestly convert to Christianity, the pragmatic imperatives of politically and economically ruling his little kingdom were not conducive to a long-lasting and untroubled friendship with the Portuguese. As he admitted to the bishop of Goa, his position vis-à-vis the neighboring kings might be weakened by his conversion, and his younger brother who had fled Tanur was only waiting for a chance to snatch his kingly title. Moreover, he was a substitute king for his older, feebleminded (*não capaz de siso*) brother. This complicated political system that consisted of muddled political hierarchies based alternatively on regional differences and/or kinship appears in Portuguese texts as typically feudal relations of dependence between *vassalos* and kings. But the stumbling block, according to Jesuit biblical vocabulary, was the pepper trade, which had to be attended to, conversion or not. Luís Filipe Thomaz remarked that, if one were to give a name to the Dutch religion in Malabar, it would be *pepper.*[110] The Portuguese in the 1550s were also driven by pepper profits. Thus, after his voyage to Tanur together with the bishop of Goa, who baptized the son and the mother of Dom João, Governor Jorge Cabral, went to Kochi, sensing

that trouble was in the air.[111] The king of Tanur tried to act as an intermediary between the zamorin of Calicut and the Portuguese. Garcia de Sá had earlier granted permission to export pepper to the Strait of Mecca; Cabral had suspended this permission, for which the zamorin offered to pay five hundred cruzados a year; the Portuguese were not convinced that permission should be renewed.[112]

The politics of pepper ultimately broke the wonderful friendship between the governor and the king of Tanur, since Cabral wrote (on February 21, 1550) to the king that conversion to Christianity might produce discord between the kings of Calicut and Kochi and that even the sincerity of his conversion was in question: "the fathers who had so much confidence in it [conversion] confess that they were deceived, but by caution, I have to dissemble with him."[113] The fourth pepper war broke out sometime before June over a disputed territory—the island of Bardela (Varutela)—between the king of Kochi and the pepper king of Vadakkumkur (*el-Rey de la pimenta*).[114] A series of bloody encounters ensued, and the zamorin—allied with the king of Tanur on the side of the pepper king—opposed the king of Kochi and the Portuguese.[115] After negotiations, which were complicated by the appointment of the new Portuguese viceroy Dom Affonso de Noronha, the conflict remained unsettled, and the supporters of the deceased king of Vadakkumkur wreaked havoc in the town of Kochi. Consequently, the cargo of pepper was not sent to Lisbon until late February 1551.[116]

Gomes's Charismatic Aura in Decline

With the departure of Jorge Cabral, Gomes lost the political support that enabled him to have his various projects expeditiously executed, such as the reforms of the College of St. Paul, the acquisition of the Madre de Deus Church in Kochi with a site to build the college next to it, and the pompous conversion of the king of Tanur. Affonso de Noronha started his term as viceroy by sending to his former confessor Simão Rodrigues a strong letter of complaint about Cabral's clique, in particular Bishop Albuquerque and António Gomes, whom he directly accused of having influenced the former governor to make some of his erroneous decisions.[117] Such upheavals were a common occurrence each time one governor/viceroy was replaced by another. The result of his letter, however, was that Gomes's reputation acquired a sinister turn, as a

kind of a disobedient, pigheaded, choleric busybody.[118] As Barzaeus had remarked a few years earlier in an ambiguously positive context, Gomes had a habit of "trampling human interests underfoot."[119]

Thus, spearheaded by the confraternity that erected the Madre de Deus Church, the city of Kochi started a lawsuit against Gomes and the Jesuits, on the grounds that Cabral had compelled them against their will to relinquish the church to him.[120] Among the members of the Company in Goa, Gomes also provoked opposition by claiming that the new order from Ignatius of Loyola, which had arrived in 1550, had appointed him the deputy superior of the Company since the document stated literally that the rector of the college was to act as superior when Xavier was away. This kind of jurisdictional muddle was also a typical feature of both religious and secular governments because the decision making in all important matters was to be effected at the center (Lisbon and/or Rome) and the response to a letter took one or more years to arrive. When his opinion was not taken as law, Gomes proved to be quite forceful and unrelenting. Thus, after the death of Antonio Criminali, Henrique Henriques was elected the superior of the Parava mission and confirmed by Lancilotto, the regional superior in charge of the southeast. Henrique Henriques's refusal to promptly take up the job of confessor of the king of Tanur, assigned to him by Gomes due to his superior knowledge of the "Malabar" language, gave rise to a tirade against the admission of the New Christians into the Jesuit order.[121] Gomes was also unpopular in Goa because he forbade the students of the College of St. Paul to engage in the custom of choir singing in the church, which the lay audience greatly cherished.[122]

His actions meeting disapproval, although even his critics admitted that he was personally an upright man and very zealous in the cause of the Company, Gomes preferred to leave Goa.[123] In addition, in September 1551, the ship from Portugal brought a new batch of Jesuits, among them Melchior Nunes Barreto with letters from Simão Rodrigues appointing him rector of the College of St. Paul and vice-provincial of India in the absence of Xavier. The problem of overlapping jurisdictions was also raised since Gomes claimed this time that Barreto did not have patent letters from Ignatius of Loyola, but only from Rodrigues, who technically did not have jurisdiction over India because Xavier had been appointed provincial.[124] Consequently, Gomes relinquished the office of rector and joined Dom Affonso de Noronha in his partly punitive, partly Christianizing mission to Ceylon

in September 1551. The mission turned out to be a disaster from any point of view. Noronha did not find the hidden treasure purportedly hoarded by Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the deceased king of Kōttē, nor was the baptism of Dharmapāla, his grandson, a straightforward affair. According to Baltazar Gago, the demon prevented the viceroy from finding the treasure bequeathed to the king of Portugal by the king of Ceylon, "his vassal, but black."[125] By the same "unclean" agency, António Gomes was foiled in his effort to find a different kind of treasure, the treasure of souls (*tisouro da almas*). As a result, Dom Affonso de Noronha pillaged a temple, while António Gomes managed to acquire a young prince of Trincomali who was to be placed and educated in the College of St. Paul.[126]

From February to April 1552, Xavier returned to Goa to prepare a journey to China, his new and, as it turned out, final and fatal destination. This was the biggest of all the projects he had in mind since, as he had discovered in Japan, the spiritual and civilizing laws among the Japanese, which he admired and which resembled the Ten Commandments, were imported from China. His search for the ideal pagan recipients of Christianity, that is, those who could easily be converted—equipped by natural reason and instantly persuaded by the glad tidings brought to them from the West—continued and moved farther away from reality into utopia. Thus, according to his informants, the Chinese were even more intelligent than the Japanese and were "white people" and very learned. China, as opposed to Japan, "is very big, pacific, and without any wars; a country with much justice (*terra de muita justiça*) . . . more justice than any country in Christendom (*hé de mays justiça que nenhuma de toda a cristandade*)".[127] The truth of the matter is that Xavier was becoming increasingly irritated by the Japanese *bonzes*' stubbornness toward conversion and by the country's unstable local political situation.

However, with all his new and old projects in mind for the Far East, he was forced to deal with some burning questions in Goa, where Portuguese Jesuit members, a number of them recruited locally, posed a threat to the transnational character that the founding fathers, including Xavier, gave to the Company. Portuguese nationalism was a problem in the Jesuit missions in Asia, and it would continue to provoke disputes among Jesuits throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, inasmuch as Portuguese recruits tended to confound the religious and the temporal goals of the missionary enterprise. Ignatius of

Loyola had warned Xavier to deal carefully with the Portuguese, and as they increased in number, in particular the recruits hastily ordained by Gomes in Xavier's absence, Xavier dismissed more than a half dozen of the thirty-nine Jesuits at the College of St. Paul in Goa. Some were dismissed on the spot for any minor complaint or error, like Miguel de Nóbrega.[128] Others, like Manuel de Morais, Francisco Gonçalves, and Melchior Gonçalves, were recalled from their missions to be dismissed in Goa.[129]

By the end of Xavier's stay in Goa, Gomes saw the modification or simple reversal of most of his decisions regarding, for example, the construction of the college in Kochi and the reform of the College of St. Paul in Goa. Moreover, Xavier considered most of his recruits inadequate, and many were dismissed. Gomes's dismissal was also in the air, but instead he was sent to Diu, which was as bad, and he resisted this, again by seeking patronage among the Portuguese officials and nobility.[130] Before leaving Goa in April 1552, Xavier instructed Gaspar Barzaeus to send a dismissal to Gomes in Diu immediately upon the departure of the ships for Lisbon (in February 1553).[131] A Jesuit, André Fernandes, was in charge of delivering the letter with the names of the dismissed to Simão Rodrigues or, in the latter's absence, to the rector of the College of Santo Antão in Lisbon. In it, Xavier's message was clear:

> I have dismissed those whom you had sent here three years ago, since they [António Gomes and Francisco and Melchior Gonçalves] were not well trained there and when they left that holy college of Coimbra with many fervors but without experience, though they spent much time outside and had given a great example of themselves and edification to the people, they were like novices here and things happened which became known among the people and made it necessary that they be dismissed.[132]

In 1549, Xavier had already criticized those from Coimbra who came with "premature fervors" that annoyed Loyola and for which Simão Rodrigues was held directly responsible and was about to be judged in Rome. Both Xavier's and Loyola's basic contention, each writing from his own experience and from different parts of the world, was that these students were unable to obey authority. The more they mortified and abased themselves, the more they were conscious of their own worth.[133] The splintering of authority ensued, with individual

wills necessarily coming into conflict. To solve this problem, Loyola's theory of obedience as the sacrifice of will unwittingly comes close to the theory of the social contract that would be fully elaborated in the seventeenth century. The Company needed a sovereign, an absolute authority to whom all individual wills would be consensually subjugated. According to Loyola's ingenious solution, the authority is undivided and absolute, as is obedience, but it is internally graded and hierarchized. Just as the beam of light that often appears on the frontispiece of Jesuit books begins with the divine illumination and then arrows down through Loyola's hands into the hearts of lower figures until it reaches the given target on the ground, Jesuit "superiors," from Christ to praepositus generalis to praepositus provincialis and so forth, all stand in each other's place, the lower replacing the higher in his absence. According to Loyola's compressed social geometry, a superior is a direct replacement of Christ for a religious subaltern. Therefore, in spite of (or because of) its supplementary nature, authority organically connects the upper and the lower, and at each station on this elaborate ladder, the higher takes responsibility for the next (and all) lower down, while the lower consents to renounce his will to the next (and all) higher up.

That obedience is the highest sacrifice of the will and that it leads to the highest perfection is not a new but an old scriptural and patristic idea, reiterated time and again in Christian literature. What is new in Loyola's conception is that he envisaged not only that an individual might have had an opinion different from his superior's but that he might be right. However, better than better judgment, he insisted, is blind obedience, "like a corpse." This was probably a moment and a site at which a fatal split was allowed to occur in the very fulcrum of the Jesuit interior. Perhaps it was also the creative site of what the Jesuits' enemies called their notorious capacity to dissemble. The spiritual exercises were composed to nurture and heal, provoke and pacify this rupture in the texture of the Jesuit psyche by simultaneously trading upon *language sensible* and empowering the senses with the language of passion.[134]

The fervors of Coimbra sprang from the same source but took a direction that led to individual expression and repetition of worldly traumas (Christ's crucifixion and suffering providing the most vivid model of transference). Loyola quite accurately understood not only that, in the long run, this overflowing charismatic, fervent energy was uncon-

trollable but also that it would render those who were possessed by it psychologically and socially weak, that is, unable to adapt to new situations. As is visible in the cases of Simão Rodrigues and António Gomes, fervors in their aristocratic Portuguese context produced and maintained social distance that contradicted the ideas and practices of the early modern Jesuit missions. Although in some of their South American missions the Jesuit missionaries would be accused of introducing radical egalitarianism, after the 1550s the structure of authority applied within and outside of the Jesuit order was based on control through strategic engagement, rather than strategic distance.[135] In the language of Loyola, distance-creating passions such as fervors were to be supplanted by proximity-creating love. Like Loyola, a Basque foreigner in the rich cosmopolitan fieldwork in Rome, Xavier came to the same conclusion in his even richer fieldwork in Asia. The Jesuit preoccupation with love and service to God, repeatedly invoked in Xavier's letters, often as a rhetorical formula, at the same time motivates a whole semantic arena of affectionate social and intersubjective relations: from love of one's neighbor as divine obligation, through the suppression of enmity among individuals and communities, to the imperative of making oneself loved by others. Without cynical undertones, the missionary economy of love is conceptualized as a source of authority and, ultimately, of control and coercion.

In the Asian field, the burden of love was added to a further weight: the inherent dangers of the tropical environment, as if love (and service) in the Torrid Zone was more difficult a task than in Europe.[136] The descriptions of hot Indian weather and destructive monsoons are almost topical narrative folds in nearly every traveler's account or correspondence of the period, and they would remain so in European literature even after the rise of tropical medicine in the nineteenth century, which at least mitigated the worst of the "white man's" fears. For Antonio Criminali, "India is [a] very hot region (*terra*). Here one can always go barefoot and in an undershirt (*camisa*), and even then one sweats. . . . Winter is not known." In a word, everything in India was contrary to what one found in Europe, and "things were very different from those there." Nevertheless, he felt that divine love and charity had brought him to the *patria* for which he was created.[137] And, one might add, the patria in which he would leave his mortal remains. Xavier, as well as many others like Nicolò Lancilotto and Henrique Henriques, defined the country, which can include places from Sokotra to Japan, as *trabajosa,*

under which heading *travagliosa* designates a mixture of climatic, social, and linguistic difficulties.[138]

Although the attitudes toward and representation of tropical nature in sixteenth-century Portuguese texts have received almost no scholarly attention, it is safe to claim that in Jesuit narratives they are inseparable from those related to paganism, which was defined through multiple registers, from demonic to social, psychological, and environmental. In particular, an excess of passions was noted among the pagans and Christians in regions where, according to the eyewitnesses, hot weather led women (and men) to walk around half naked. Jesuits were not immune to the calls of *carne,* as sexual desire was lapidarily called. When, in 1561, Henrique Henriques asked for permission to try a particular local medicine used by the yogis against sexual arousal, after a few years of hesitation, the Curia flatly refused it.[139] Francisco de Borja, the then-general of the Jesuit order, ordered António de Quadros, the provincial in Goa, to leave "the medicine for chastity" to the *bonjes* (bonzes), mistaking the *jogues* in Henriques's letter with the Japanese Buddhist religious specialists.[140]

The fervent passions of the heart were, therefore, dangerous in the tropical Torrid Zone, not only because, as Xavier saw it, they quickly wore off and turned flaccid and disqualified Jesuit missionaries from the strategic engagement with paganism but also because they could engender other passions of carne, mundo, and diabo. And mental illness, it can be safely added, as in the case of Juan de Beira, whose rich and tormented missionary life in Southeast Asia (from Melaka to the Moluccan Islands) resulted in apocalyptic visions that he described in his sermons and his letters.[141] Xavier had to admonish him to keep these exalted things for himself. "Do not communicate to anyone the interior things that God gives you to feel, I mean those things that do not pertain to the good and spiritual profit of the Christians of Moluccas and Moro, and also of other parts."[142] For, working outside the Jesuit residences and colleges among the gentiles, one had to behave in a self-effacing, selfless way, to selflessly love and selflessly provide service to one's neighbor. "Nothing is achieved in these parts of India by force" was a strong recommendation to another Jesuit, Alfonso Cypriano in São Tomé de Meliapor.[143] Like Loyola in his missives on the same topic, Xavier opposed forced humility and obedience. These two Jesuit perfections are defined not as absolute essences but as relational positions. Acting humbly and obediently appears, in fact, as a calculated strategy to solicit the same type of behavior from one's inferiors and superiors.

The problem of obedience, as it came dramatically to light in the cases of Rodrigues and Gomes, boils down to the question of the self and its missionary uses, disguises, and predicaments. The charismatic self of the founding fathers, based on the spirit of communitas, had to be rejected in favor of a more uniform, military Gestalt. Given the growth in membership, rank-and-file Jesuits were encouraged to renounce personal charisma, at least outwardly and at least in relation to other members. They could exercise and play out their saintly inclinations in the vast territories of paganism, but even there, there were to be checks and balances against unnecessary fervors of both inferiors and superiors. Xavier's serial dismissals in 1552, before his ultimate departure for China, might not have been the last word on the issue. In principle and in practice, one was allowed to plead one's case with the higher authorities in Portugal and Rome.

Gomes certainly thought he could win his case when he left Diu and went to Kochi to embark on the ill-fated *nau* (ship), *São Bento,* for the return journey on February 1, 1554, a month before Xavier's by then "sanctified" and reportedly uncorrupted body arrived in Goa on March 15, 1554. Instead of joining the pious frenzy that would predictably ensue upon the arrival of the relic, Gomes left on an overloaded ship, although reputedly one of the largest and heaviest, only to see it capsize east of the Cape of Good Hope, drowning some 150 passengers. Gomes was among them, brought down by untamable nature, which he had appeased six years earlier with the very special head of St. Geracina, which he carried in his trunk.[144] While the aura of Xavier's relic grew with each mile it sailed nearer to Goa, Gomes's own body vanished in the sea, his name was deleted from the Jesuit letters, and thus his defense case was lost in Rome before it was opened.

And yet things could have happened differently. While the two rival Jesuits were on their way to their different destinations, at the same time, on the outward journey toward India, the contents of the two letters written by Ignatius of Loyola could have changed everything. One, written in December of 1553, carried permission for Gomes to come and explain his case in Rome.[145] The other, written almost six months earlier on June 28, 1553, was Xavier's loving recall back to Rome.[146] Whether he was to be "promoted" to succeed the ailing Loyola or to be brought to trial for the many fervors he experienced in Asia will never be known. Perhaps even Gomes could have acquired another challenging mission tailored to his missionary temperament—in Brazil,

for example. One thing is certain: in a head-on collision with Francis Xavier, in many ways his Doppelgänger, Gomes was not successful in transforming his charismatic energy into a saintly authority. After the 1550s and with the arrival of the *Constitutions* brought by António de Quadros in 1555, the central Jesuit authorities would formally discourage this kind of transformation. In spite of his advantage at the time of arrival—the two powerful heads he was carrying to Christianize all Asia—in the end Gomes lost them both.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Art of Dying in the Tropics

Jesuit Martyrs in India

In a 1551 propagandist recruitment letter to the Jesuit college of Coimbra, Henrique Henriques provided a list of the spiritual and apostolic attractions of the Jesuit mission among the Parava pearl-fishing lineages in the Tirunelveli region in the extreme south of India.[1] "We have everything you desire," he boasted, as if pushing merchandise, and hoped that "desire to come to these parts would grow" among the college students:

> If you want a retreat, here we have means [or equipment] for that; if you want to travel (*peregrinar*), there are many places for that, in order to run more than 70 leagues in visitation to the Christians; if you want to learn the language, and to read and write Malavar, you can do it easily with the manual (*arte*) I made, and with the established exercises (that forbid) speaking (any language) but Malavar; if you want you can suffer labors and glances, as there is here material for that, if you want to be maltreated by the infidels and suffer for Christ, it will come. The Lord having wanted to reward the good Father Antonio, the Badagas killed him.[2]

On the scale of desired suffering "ad majorem Dei gloriam," it seems that, for Henriques, learning to speak a pagan tongue was the closest to suffering martyrdom. He was, of course, the most qualified person to pronounce a judgment on this topic. Already a fluent speaker of the Tamil or "Malavar" language, which he mastered with much difficulty, he had replaced Antonio Criminali, killed three years previously by a Badaga soldier, as the mission superior—with considerable divine help, he was convinced. His enthusiastic picture-postcard description paints the mission as a landscape abounding in instruments of violence and torture for Christian bodies, from the feet (walking) to the head (speaking). Francis Xavier, who opened this first Jesuit apostolic field *in*

partibus infidelium, (in infidel regions) suffered the same "white martyrdom," walking long distances along the sandy coast from Manappad to Vembar, blessing and baptizing Christians with his right hand, which for that very reason became a special object of veneration, and learning Tamil to endlessly repeat Christian prayers and utterances. His words had an electrifying effect on the Paravas and some other low-status lineages in the area.

The mission on the Costa da Pescaria, as it was called in Jesuit missionary correspondence, was not more than a string of Christian localities along the coast, coexisting shoulder to shoulder with Muslim and Hindu villages. Political and social segmentation, as well as the early forceful involvement of the Portuguese in the region's economy and politics, provoked a series of communal hostilities between clans of Muslim and Hindu (Parava) pearl divers and merchants. In late 1530, the Parava caste elders decided to forge an alliance with the Portuguese, and submitting themselves to Portuguese political patronage, which included military protection, they also converted to Christianity.[3] Converted in a superficial fashion with mass baptisms held by the secular clergy and without further religious instruction, the real, "spiritual," conversion, as would often be claimed, had to wait until the arrival of Francis Xavier in 1542. In spite of having been sent by the Portuguese padroado real (crown patronage of the missions) and in fact because of the weak but impetuous presence of Portuguese casados and officials in the region, the Jesuit missionaries soon enough found themselves in a situation structurally similar to the one faced by the apostles and missionaries of the early Christian church. It was a dream situation for the eager soldiers of Christ or "merchants of the soul" (*negoceadores d'alma*), as they came to represent themselves by analogy to the dominant Portuguese interest group in Asia.[4] It was also an explosive situation conducive to violent exchanges at any time.

From the missionary perspective, transgressing the boundaries of paganism was bound to engender ferocious revenge. While paganism was of partly human and partly satanic, unclean, origin, the Word—the glad tidings, or *euangelion*—became obscured by the forces of darkness, and self-sacrifice surfaced as a solution. The failure of rhetoric, therefore, solicited a special kind of eloquence, the eloquence of the body, which often resulted in martyrdom, that is, preaching in nonverbal signs and gestures whose vocabulary was drops of blood and whose syntax was

torture. In the permanent absence of Christ, these witnesses of faith, the Christian martyrs, were condemned to repeat the passion and thus to cover up the fact that their preaching or proclamation (*kerusso,* Greek), was not based on proof but only on grace and an authority partly created by their own act.[5] Therefore, since the only living proof had disappeared, the narrative of Christianization was up for grabs.

Although Jesuit missionary narrative offers an unlimited field for rhetorical figuration and the texts flooding the European literary market gave evidence of its success, the missions nevertheless suffered a chronic shortage of staff. For this reason, almost every letter from Asia reiterated two statements that might otherwise appear to be unrelated. One of mystical origin: the desire to suffer and die for Christ; and the other resulting from practical experience: complaining about the lack of Jesuit personnel in the missions. Obviously, at the very heart of the Jesuit missionary enterprise there was an irreconcilable contradiction, a real predicament impossible to solve because the choice was between life and death. Martyrdom, an inherited, tested, authorized, and for some a psychologically attractive model of proselytizing and individual sanctification, did not, in fact, correspond to the Jesuit "manner of proceeding." This may have been one of the best-kept strategic secrets of the Roman Jesuit think tank.

Inasmuch as the desire for martyrdom was mostly rooted in noble, heroic, and altruistic feelings—self-sacrifice for the higher goals of the terrestrial and celestial community—the problem it posed for the growth and development of the Company of Jesus was as much numerical as it was constitutional, in the sense that it raised the question of interior structure, method, regularity, and proper sociability within and outside of the order. The moot point was that the psychological makeup that sustained and propped up Jesuit personalities zealous to die also facilitated an extreme form of individualism and self-consciousness, verging on anarchic enthusiasm.[6] An excess of charismatic power engendered by imitation of such founding fathers as Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, or Simão Rodrigues was a problem the Company faced from its very beginning.[7] Loyola's ingenious remedy for the excess of fervors that shook the Coimbra college and other early Jesuit institutions was elaborated in his famous letters on perfection and obedience.[8]

Against the Jesuit institutional backdrop, martyrs walked the thin line between miraculous election and sanctity, on the one hand, and

rebellious disobedience and succumbing to the demonic illusion, on the other.

Looking into the story of Antonio Criminali's violent death in the mission among the Karaya fishermen in 1549 may make it possible to discern, in the cracks of the official pronouncements and emotive correspondence and in the context of the first serious institutional challenge, how the Company of Jesus acted and thought out strategies to maintain the fiction of the desire for martyrdom while hemming in its actual practice. In spite of the impressive number of names that would appear on the pages of the Jesuit martyrologies by the end of the eighteenth century, martyrdom in itself was something of a failure.[9] Copious literary, theatrical, and visual art production featuring Jesuit martyrs and turning them into college and public spectacles may not have created the desire for martyrdom in the hearts of young Jesuit recruits, as has often been claimed, but simply the desire to watch and take part in the spectacle. It is also possible that a subliminal message was directed to the Jesuit novice in the gory scenes of martyrdom: if everything fails, there is always heroic death as a choice, but rather than dying a single time for Christ, it is more heroic to die (and to watch oneself die) every day, slowly and in suffering. Instead of the certainty and finality of death, one had to learn to endure the uncertainty and limitless possibilities, including violence, of living in the world.[10] By entering the Company of Jesus, in Loyola's words, by sacrificing family and other emotional relations, one should be as good as dead to the world, but only to be able to change it.[11] By renouncing martyrdom, a renunciation that can be taken as a voluntary sacrifice of the desire for martyrdom, and thus by forsaking frontal violence against the pagan, infidel, or heretic, the Society of Jesus shaped and implemented the method of accommodation. The flesh or the exterior therefore ceased to be the major "witness of faith." In this scheme of things, with its interior profoundly modified, or in Loyola's formula, after having expurgated the interior, the body pagan could remain externally pagan. The lack of a uniform Jesuit dress code aimed to shift the locus of violence from the surface into the covert depth of the human heart, where a new theater of martyrdom was about to begin. Between the portraits of Francis Xavier, with his throbbing heart pressing against his shirt, and the open chests with burning hearts of the seventeenth century, the concept of martyrdom continued to take on new meanings, moving from the religious sphere to the political arena and back again.

Missionary Profile in the Tropics: The Invention of a Martyr

In his first letters to Loyola and to his family in Parma, Antonio Criminali, who had arrived in Goa from Lisbon a month earlier in late 1545, displayed a lack of both rhetorical polish and spiritual exaltation. In matter-of-fact prose, he briefly informed Loyola of the conversion procedure in Goa, venting his doubts about its efficacy. The tone of the letter betrays a somewhat disgruntled individual. In his words, he wanted neither to "accommodate himself" (*acomodarsi*) to the practices in use, such as baptizing without sufficient instruction and allowing non-Christians to hear the Mass, nor to be branded as pigheaded (*hè de sua testa*) or to go against the grain and cause scandals.[12] It is perhaps precisely his hesitation to quickly choose the right position, which can also be distilled from the narratives of his *passio* (passion or his martyrdom), that ultimately cost him his head three years later.

Nevertheless, he seems to have been considered close to an ideal Jesuit missionary. In 1549, Francis Xavier praised him as a "saintly person, and born for cultivating these lands" and asked Loyola to send people like Criminali to the Indian missions.[13] In his early (1542) letters, Xavier thought that what was needed in Asia were young, strong, healthy men who were in good corporeal and spiritual condition and good preachers.[14] In 1545, he warned Simão Rodrigues, who seriously considered or made known that he was considering joining Xavier, that "this country is very difficult (*trabalhosa*) and demands healthy bodies and great force."[15] The heat and scarcity of water and basic food items like "bread, wine, and other things" were a problem, and in Criminali's words, "here you can go barefoot and in an undergarment, and even then you sweat . . . everything [in India] is contrary to that in Europe."[16] In the course of time, Xavier was to modify his demands. Having to face young, zealous, and overqualified Jesuits fresh from the Coimbra college, like António Gomes, who challenged his authority on every single point, Xavier insisted that the missionaries for Asia be between thirty and forty years of age, without education, and with no special talent for preaching or sciences. "These are the best for the conversion of the gentiles" provided that they had other virtues such as "humility, gentleness, patience, and especially chastity" (*humilitate, manusetudine, patientia, et scilicet castimonia*).[17]

Criminali corresponded to this profile perfectly. According to Henriques's report to Loyola, among the Parava pearl fishermen, Criminali

"works very hard. He is never tired and the one who inspired him to enter this sacred Company gave him great corporeal and spiritual forces. . . . He learned to write and read this language [Tamil], which is very difficult."[18] Although Criminali wrote only a few short letters, not wanting to talk about mundane things or because he had no time, he appeared to have been a very dynamic missionary who perhaps, just like Xavier, enjoyed walking long distances from one Parava village to another. Xavier mentioned that he was loved by indigenous Christians, by Muslims and gentiles, and by his Jesuit subalterns.[19] But it is astounding that after Criminali's death the Apostle of India had no special comment or declaration to make on his behalf. The difficulty in reading and decoding Jesuit correspondence lies not only in its fragmentary nature but also in the way in which normative models and principles reworked real or subjective experiences. As if submerged by shifting sands, certain decisions and statements were forgotten and others appear to come from nowhere. In spite of its inherent pathos, dying prematurely was an error, disobedient and irresponsible behavior, and so very different from Xavier's death, which the hagiographies transformed into an ideal death in the tropics of paganism.

In one of the earliest letters written from India, an obscure and quite enigmatic passage introduces what would become a coded, haunting leitmotif and guideline to the true or mystical meaning of the desire for martyrdom. By collapsing ecology and topography into a religious category of paganism, Xavier defined his apostolic field in a series of reversals. It is a world upside-down, on the other side of the globe, where summer is winter and winter is summer, as he explained to Loyola.[20]

> Inhabiting the land so subjected to the signs of idolatry and so laborious to live in because of the great heat that is there; if these labors (*trabaxos*) are taken as they should be taken, they cool down (*son grandes refrigerios*) and become material for great consolation.[21]

While, as the Jesuits often repeated in their correspondence, the paganism endemic to the tropical climate produced an excess of heat in human bodies—for example, carnal lust, a number one enemy on Xavier's list—an interior and mental re-centering takes as its fulcrum the imminence of death, which turns into a fertile alluvium of holy and painful labors.

> I believe that those who enjoy the cross of Christ our Lord find rest when coming to these labors and die when they run away from them and are without them. What death is such a long life, having relinquished Christ, after having known him, in order to follow one's own opinions and affects. There is no labor equal to that. On the contrary, how reposing it is to live dying every day, by going against our own will in seeking "not what is our own but what is of Jesus Christ."[22]

Suffering and pain are narrativized as an endless circulation around the productive agency that is the missionary body.[23] Death is stationed at the threshold, an invisible line drawn in the middle of the arena, both the highest moment of torment and an easy way out; a bad death, according to Xavier's template, is dying of one's own will, betrayed by personal emotions and, as he would hint elsewhere, seduced by the demonic power disguised as the angel of light. The surrounding paganism and its maleficent influence on the sanity and sanctity of human bodies and the body politic might also infiltrate Jesuit interiors. Just as, according to Xavier's observation of the immediate natural world in the Parava mission, "fish immediately rot when they are killed" because of the torrid heat, inflamed, fervent Jesuit missionaries may experience mental decomposition.[24] Some of them, like Juan de Beira, simply went mad, while others, more dangerously, lost their zeal, then their sense of mission, and became cynical and disobedient. Paganism and the tropical climate thus inflicted suffering and tortures on Christian minds and bodies. And it was this constant violence acting on the soldiers of Christ that, in the long run, authorized missionary action.

What was disconcerting about the violent outbursts against the missionaries was that they were, precisely, only outbursts and most of the time unpredictable. Before he improved and sharpened his anthropological gaze, a Jesuit lived in a world in which the marvelous and the deadly could instantly change places. In the early pioneer decades of Jesuit expansion in Asia, the pagan enemies were substantivized as *pluralia tantum* and portrayed as crowds emerging out of the darkness with few if any individual physiognomies, and even then the stereotyping powerfully constructed an anonymous, demonic other.

Xavier's early seventeenth-century hagiographers—Sebastião Gonçalves, João de Lucena, and others—excelled in descriptions of crowds and agonistic commotion. One of the eye-catching events, the attack by the Badaga army on the newly converted Macua (Mukkuvar) Christian

villages in Travancor in 1544, scarcely mentioned in Xavier's letters, was blown into a drama of heroic proportions.[25] Thus, according to Gonçalves, the Badagas arrived,

> filling the air with cries and shouts that penetrated the clouds, threatening to put [everybody and] everything to sword and fire. . . . As soon as the message reached the good shepherd Xavier, without refusing *to lay down his life for his sheep* [John 10:11], he prostrated himself on the ground with his eyes and his hands toward the sky and made a small but fervent and efficient prayer and offered himself, like Christ in the garden, to the enemies in order that they exercise on him their fury, so that they would forgive [spare] his sheep.[26]

Having invited his readers to imagine the scene, Gonçalves, as if carried away by his own vivid, naturalistic description, at the peak of the dramatic buildup concluded what was in fact a martyrdom *manqué* with the exclamation—"what a marvelous thing." Having brought the scene to the highest rhetorical temperature, he stopped abruptly, just as the army of barbarians, the Badagas, paused in terror and swiftly ran away. Gonçalves's work is a masterpiece of dramatic silences and breathtaking reversals, all the while posing as a true and simple narrative of events. André Reinoso transposed this episode very successfully and literal-mindedly into a painting at the time when Xavier's canonization process was being prepared in Rome. The depiction became an ideal or prototype for representing this scene. In this chiaroscuro tableau, spatial and human distance is violently insisted on (fig. 10). The darkness on the painting is as thick as paganism itself. A small patch of dirty orange light breaks through indistinguishable dark clouds from the upper left corner to illuminate Xavier's face, which looks straight into it, and his two hands in the air and the pages of the open book on the floor are the crucial loci opposing the darkness. Everything else in the painting is placed behind Xavier's back and is hardly visible, swallowed by obscurity, but is still menacingly present: blotches of reddish paint turning into either flames or military banners and in the right-hand lower corner a few twisted human bodies wriggle in pain. The symbolism is too obvious to muse upon, but what is somewhat surprising is the way the painter negotiated and inscribed the sense of contingency and immediacy into the scene.[27]

The violence, of course, did not happen, or at least not to Xavier, but

it was bound to be repeated, as Reinoso, a Jesuit temporal coadjutor himself, knew perfectly well. If he eschewed depicting the instruments of this violence, namely the Badaga soldiers on their horses in full military gear, although he was an excellent group portraitist, it might be that he was guided by two intuitive directives. The first was to equate pagan violence against Christians with climatic or natural disasters—coming from and returning to nowhere. In this way, he also stripped the non-Christian agency of all political authority. Reinoso's second intuition inscribed in the painting had to do with the representation of violence itself, especially violence inflicted on Jesuit bodies. He improvised and ingeniously found a way to transmute the secret Jesuit ideal of renounced martyrdom into the painting. The nature (and genius) of the visual arts is to successfully paint secrets without disclosing them. The secret is that the martyr who turns his back on martyrdom is an ideal Jesuit martyr; Reinoso placed the army of Badagas behind Xavier.[28]

Writing from Amboina (Ambon) in 1546, Xavier further elaborated the Jesuit ideal of martyrdom. Even more than the mission in Travancore or on the Fishery Coast, the Moluccan Islands were dangerous places in the hands of local chieftains who, if not recently converted to Islam, were then mostly pagans, some of them infamous for cannibalism. Again, as if ecology and culture enhanced each other, volcanoes, monsoons, and earthquakes regularly wrought havoc throughout the islands, as Xavier happened to experience firsthand. The closer one was to the actual danger, according to Xavier, the more prudent it was to desire death.

> I have resolved to go to Moro to assist the Christians in spiritual things, offering myself to all sort of dangers of death, since all my hope and confidence is in God our Lord. I desire to conform myself, according to my small and weak forces, to the saying of Christ our Redeemer and Lord who said: "Qui enim voluerit animam suam salvam facere, perdet eam; qui autem perdiderit animam suam propter me, inveniet eam [Matt. 16:25]." And, although it might be easy to understand the Latin and the universal meaning of the Lord's saying, when a man comes to its particular meaning to dispose himself to decide to lose his life for God in order to find it in Him, exposing himself to dangerous circumstances in which he may quite likely lose his life for that which he seeks to decide, the sense becomes so obscure that the Latin, clear as it is, becomes obscured; and in such a case it seems to me that the only one who can understand it, no matter how

> learned he may be, is the one to whom God in his infinite mercy wants to declare it in a particular sense.[29]

It may be that St. Jerome's Latin is obscure, but Xavier's Spanish is no less cryptic, precisely when it elucidates the problem in question. What can be distilled from this densely but haphazardly compacted advice is that one should cultivate the desire to die and be ready at any moment but the ultimate decision is beyond human volition. God, the highest superior, wills one way or the other. But the interpretation is, again, allowed to bifurcate into universal and particular, two different paths to an understanding of the higher will. The key to distinguishing one from another is, however, denied. It remains in the darkness of language. His effort at elucidation doubles back on itself without providing final guidance. Against the big screen, the dilemma between determinism and freedom remains unsolved as before, but written in small print is the possibility of the freedom to read the signs directed by the divine exclusively to oneself. One can know who one is and for what one is predestined by that beam of light that pierced Loyola's hand in its downward descent on so many frontispieces of printed Jesuit texts.[30] Here is also where the crack, a creative wound, appeared in the system of Xavier and, for that matter, in that of the Jesuits. Instead of closure and certainty—that one lives and dies under the supervising eye of the divine authority, as if the latter were some sort of celestial camera—a dose of the contingent and arbitrary is surreptitiously stowed away in the transcontinental chest of the Jesuit missionaries. The problem with particular divine communication is that those who did not receive it would forever contest the message. The proof would then demand an elaborate and psychologically costly impression management. Xavier failed only once, and it cost him his life. He did not succeed in persuading Dom Álvaro de Ataíde, the captain of Melaka and Vasco da Gama's son, who refused to believe in his last grand project to open up China. Without material and logistical support, Xavier's embassy to China was doomed from the beginning. Humiliated, even physically menaced, he was left on his own to follow his destiny, and eventually he died.[31] Where he left off, his hagiographers continued. Not only excommunication, illness, jail, and death awaited Dom Álvaro de Ataíde as a divine punishment but also all kinds of miracles were associated with whatever remained of Xavier and what he had touched. Thus the *Santa Cruz*, upon which he sailed back and forth, never shipwrecked (fig. 11).

For some time, no typhoons menaced the seas, and a few years later, China did open up—through his intercession, it was believed.[32]

The Jesuit Economy of Martyrdom: The Killing of Antonio Criminali

Martyrdom was in the air in the dangerous missions of the Jesuits. Rumors about Xavier's violent death on the Fishery Coast, unfounded as they turned out to be, were circulated by the end of 1548 and produced many "sentiments in his devotees in this land."[33] According to Gaspar Barzaeus, a Flemish Jesuit, they wanted to rescue his body and were ready to pay as much as thirty thousand ducats, while the stories of his miracles grew in proportion to public excitement. The mission territory among the Parava fishermen was expected to produce Jesuit martyrs or, even better, to beget narratives of continuous "white" martyrdom. From the Goan mission where he found himself producing no fruit, Melchior Gonçalves hoped that Xavier would let him join his brothers on the Cape Comorin (Kanniyakumari), where they "offer themselves every day to suffering many martyrdoms (*martírios*)."[34] The plural of the word *martyrdom* accurately translates the flavor and meaning the Society of Jesus had added to this particular concept. Hard work, daily suffering, and abnegation were no innovation in the pious Christian modus operandi. However, the Jesuit insistence that apostolic efforts in the dangerous missions were, in fact, nothing less than martyrdom(s) is not simply a rhetorical exaggeration but reveals the underlying religious economy of Jesuit martyrdom.[35]

The first reports of Criminali's death—collectively signed by the remaining missionaries, who immediately elected a new superior, Henrique Henriques—read like another story straight out of the *Acta sanctorum*.[36] Given that none of them witnessed the scene, they provided a concise but dramatic narrative, consciously guided by the fact that it would one day be used for the canonization process. Their writing was itself an act of witnessing what they knew was the first real, that is, "red" martyrdom, which according to martyrological standards is not complete without bloodshed, preferably by decapitation. All the details of Criminali's last moments were recorded with cinematographic precision. The effect of the real is achieved through rigorous "factual" description. "Father Antonio Criminali is dead and died in this manner"

is the beginning of the letter sent to the mission superior in Goa, (Micer) Paulo de Camerino.[37] Devoid of all emotional charge, outbursts of lamentations, and spontaneous sorrow, it provides a Jesuit reader with geographical details:[38] that he was tending the newly converted Christians on the coast near the shoals of Rāmanankovil, or Rameshwaram (*baixos de Ramanncor*), when the soldiers of the king of Vijayanagara made a sudden appearance. He could have taken refuge on the boat and was advised to do so. But he chose rather "to stay and lose his life than, having saved himself, see those whom he had so zealously baptized, instructed, and indoctrinated in faith get captured and die; and having forgotten himself," he helped others board the ship. As he saw the "enemies of the faith entering, he was full of hope for immortality with his hands in the air and on his knees before them." The first batch of "enemies" passed by him and did nothing except take off his *barrete* (cap). Then another wave of soldiers came, and Criminali again welcomed them in the same position. But instead of killing him, they lifted him up. However, when the Badagas came the third time, "the Father, inflamed to suffer rather than to see his own die," went back on his knees with his hands in the air. "One with a turban (*touca*), whom [we] suspect of being Muslim (mouro), pierced his left side with a lance," while the others jumped on him and tore off his clothes. He made no resistance but rather helped them by holding his collar. Once in his undergarment and wounded, "but more by the love of God, he ran to the church where on that very day he held the Son of God in his hands." They ran after him, he turned, and they pierced him in his chest while he continued toward the church. "Another Badaga arrived and pierced him again, and without forgetting his custom, he went on his knees because he did the same twenty-three times every day, and having made a brief mental prayer, he fell at that moment on his side. They cut off his head, it is not known if he was alive then, and hung it in a high place with his torn shirt full of blood."

This is the basic plot of the one-page story as it was presented in the report to the Jesuit superior in Goa. In a letter to Juan de Albuquerque, the bishop of Goa, the story contains a few small alterations and additions. Since the original letter is not extant, the closest "original" was taken from the bishop's letter to the queen of Portugal.[39] For example, the context that preceded the slaying of Criminali is given in greater detail.[40] Thus, it is hinted that the missionary worked among the newly converted Christians in tandem with Captain João Fernandes Correa

and Correa's guard of thirty to forty soldiers. Although the Portuguese had won a victory against seven or eight thousand Badagas shortly before, the latter returned because they knew that Correa's small army did not have any gunpowder left. Without too much ado, the temporal and spiritual are counterpoised. Thus, the missionaries stressed that the Badagas stole a purse containing only a few *fanams* from the father—this information does not appear in the letter to the Jesuit superior.[41] For qualified readers like Juan de Albuquerque and the queen of Portugal, it was a hint to remember the Jesuit principle of poverty in contrast to accusations of rapacious behavior by the Portuguese in Asia.[42] Moreover, when the store of gunpowder was exhausted, the Portuguese soldiers and their captain had no temporal resources but retreated to the ships to save their lives. The tenuous political and military control by the Portuguese of the area and in Asia in general is quite un-self-consciously but lucidly opposed to missionary intentions. It was not a question of triumphing in temporal battles but of winning the spiritual war. While the Portuguese were the masters of the littoral and sea networks, the Jesuit missionary project was land based. Christianity had to be territorialized, grounded, and rooted in the land and in the minds of its inhabitants. This is why, in these first reports, Criminali's gesture of sacrifice appears almost necessary to an attentive Christian eye. By shedding his blood on land, he marked out—reserved—the site for the growth of the Christian religion. Mangled and decapitated, his body was buried in the sand by António Correa, the nephew of the captain, João Fernandes Correa, against whom a cautious complaint can be discerned at the end of the letter. "On the day that they killed him, he said mass and advised the captain to embark the women and to make peace"—advice the captain did not follow, which he later regretted.[43]

After these very first "synoptic" vitae, opinions and facts branched out, revealing political games and agendas involved in the issue. Although it was ostensibly in Jesuit interest to publicize the event, Jesuit opinions were divided. The roots of the division—national, class, educational, ethnic, linguistic, and so on—ran deep in the veins of the Society of Jesus. In 1548, the first eruption of what would become an acute ailment came to the fore with the arrival of António Gomes, a zealous and ambitious Portuguese Jesuit of aristocratic origin. Closely connected to the Jesuit college of Coimbra, to which he donated his paternal inheritance, he tried something of an institutional coup d'état in Goa upon his arrival. His own vision of what should be done and how

it should be done in the Jesuit Asian missionary field clashed head-on with that of the old-timers, Francis Xavier included. Xavier branded Gomes's charismatic behavior—according to the documents of the period, Gomes was an excellent and indefatigable preacher and confessor—as coming from the notorious "Coimbra fervors," or imprudent public penitence and holy madness, a type of "disobedience" in Jesuit terminology.[44] Simão Rodrigues, one of the founding fathers of the Society of Jesus, had been accused of provoking these disturbances and, for the last act, was judged in Rome. As the provincial of the Portuguese province, he acted at one point or another as confessor, spiritual guide, and superior of both Gomes and Criminali.[45]

Gomes's announcement of Criminali's death to Loyola in Rome already saw him "crowned with the crown of a martyr."[46] As the news reached the missionaries stationed in various parts of India and Asia, most of them wrote about it in their own fieldwork reports. Stationed in Hurmuz, Gaspar Barzaeus—who had endured the same mortification in Coimbra and was one the most fervent missionaries and prolific writers of exalted letters, but who had no political ambitions (and showed the humility of a social inferior and a foreigner vis-à-vis his Portuguese Jesuit superiors)—went into raptures about Criminali's martyrdom. Covered with biblical citations, exhortatory imperatives, and pathos, Criminali's death was just one more marvelous event described in his long letter, part of the recruitment publicity. "O, Brothers," he cried out loud his invitation to the Jesuits in Coimbra, "what are you looking for in Europe, where you cannot obtain the palm of martyrdom."[47] His impassioned letters and high-pitched rhetoric exuding proselytizing zeal were appreciated by the European audience, and in various versions they found their way into print as early as 1552. Closer to the place of martyrdom, Alfonso Cypriano, who was also considered part of Coimbra's fervent clique, informed Loyola about additional, less heroic events surrounding Criminali's death. All in all, Cypriano described Criminali as a perfectly saintly figure but as being "greatly disgusted with the Christians themselves, especially with the Portuguese captain and soldiers, who are what you know, and, where they can, they put their hands [steal], more so when they are poor."[48] Cypriano's letter makes it clear that the attack on the Portuguese, and thus on Criminali and the newly converted fishermen, was prompted by Portuguese greed. The "disorderly appetites" of the captain of the *Costa da Pescaria* (the Fishery Coast), João Fernandes Correa, led him to erect a toll post on the

road to the temple of Rameshwaram, blocking the continuous flow of pilgrims.[49] Outraged by this act, the Brahmans of the temple, an important pilgrimage site "like the one in Santiago [de Compostella] or Loreto," called in the army, which then attacked the Portuguese. The captain, who carelessly failed to notice the impending attack, had to retreat to the boat, while Criminali, who could have saved himself, as Cypriano insisted, chose to die or be captured together with the terrified women and children. This was an open accusation against the Portuguese captain, who proved to be not only greedy for money but also incompetent and imprudent, thus failing to provide military protection to the missionary.

Henrique Henriques employed exactly the same adjective as Cypriano, namely *desaprecebido* (unnoticing, careless), to characterize João Fernandes Correa, without, however, pointing his finger as clearly as Cypriano to the tense relations between missionaries and local Portuguese officials.[50] Unlike Cypriano, who, over fifty at the time, was the most senior missionary and had a reputation for angry, violent verbal attacks on his opponents, Henriques had to keep a low profile, especially among the Portuguese.[51] He was of New Christian origin, and when, immediately after Criminali's death, the missionaries on the Fishery Coast elected him superior, António Gomes in Goa authoritatively denied that Henriques could ever aspire to full membership in the Society of Jesus.[52] Hence, Henriques's first report as the superior of the mission, in December 1549, which also contains Criminali's short obituary, is cautiously phrased without a single overt complaint about the Portuguese captain. His linguistic obsessions of those years, when he was working on the Tamil grammar and translations of the catechetical literature into Tamil, are more than visible, even in the way he paid a compliment to Criminali's virtues. "Of him I can say what St. Jerome said about Paula of Rome: that, even if all his members were to turn into tongues, they would be able to speak only a part of his praise. . . . Here we think (*temos pera nós*) that he died as a martyr."[53] It is of interest that more than thirty years later, in 1583, in his letter to Giovanni Pietro Maffei, who was in charge of writing the official history of the Jesuit missions in India and had asked for supplementary information, Henriques had changed his mind. He claimed that, although some of "ours" informed the king that Criminali died as a martyr, "it may be that your Reverence had written that, or hopes to write, because you said in your [letter] that you have sufficient [material]

concerning the Father, etc. However, although I held the Father for a saint, I did not affirm that he was a martyr."[54] One of the reasons for Henriques's "oblivion" was that by 1583 the general opinion was already that it would be better not to press forward with the process of Criminali's sanctification. Moreover, in June 1583, a much more spectacular martyrdom captured public attention. It was the killing of the five Jesuits in Cuncolim in the region of Salsete, south of Goa, one of whom was Rudolfo Acquaviva, a nephew of the praepositus generalis of the order, Claudio Acquaviva. At the same time, the missionaries were also invited and increasingly felt the duty to write a true and objective history of the order and to provide and collect correct information in the greatest detail for the newly established archives of the province of Goa.[55] For this reason, while insisting on his corrections, Henriques complained to Maffei about the rumors circulating in Dominican and Franciscan circles about the "many lies" (*multa mendatia*) and "exaggerations from here" (*exagerações de cá*) that can be found in Jesuit letters.[56]

In other words, the Jesuits might have overblown the narrative of Criminali's martyrdom. If Criminali had been demoted only thirty years after his death from his pedestal as the first martyr, something was obviously wrong with the manner in which he had died and/or with the story told about his death.[57] The first recorded voice of suspicion was that of Nicolò Lancilotto, the rector of the college for the St. Thomas Christians in Kollam and the regional superior, also responsible for the missions on the Fishery Coast. In spite of similarities in their institutional trajectory—Lancilotto and Criminali were both Italians who were admitted to the Society of Jesus in 1541 and 1542, they were sent to Coimbra for further basic education, and they arrived together in Goa in 1545—their personal characters and dispositions were quite different. Lancilotto was an indefatigable writer of letters to the superiors in Rome, mostly disgruntled complaints regarding just about everything and everybody. Probably suffering from consumption, he was often sick and, to his regret, was thus unable to learn any of the local languages. Criminali, on the other hand, was a man of action, not of writing; he was physically strong and had learned Tamil quickly.

In early January 1550, when all the reports containing the jubilant news of Criminali's martyrdom were about to be sent to Lisbon, Lancilotto wrote directly to Loyola expressing his reservations.

> Some of ours who are very fervent say that he is worthy of being canonized and venerated among the saints and they write to this effect to Portugal; I, who was his companion for many years, am a witness to his excellent life (*bonissima vita*); as for his death I leave it to be judged by those who have more spirit; he embarked (the ship) and most certainly got off thinking that those enemies would have respected him, as they had other times.[58]

However, only two days later in another letter to Loyola, as if wanting to soften the tone of his previous letter, Lancilotto praised Criminali, "if it is licit, . . . as a martyr," and Adam Francisco, another Jesuit who had died earlier, as a confessor.[59] Although there was no indication, as there usually is, that the first letter was for Loyola only or that it was an *hijuela* (a confidential, private letter), the information disclosed differs from that contained in the second letter. Besides grumbling about Criminali's premature sanctification, he denounced António Gomes for spreading havoc in the Jesuit College of St. Paul in Goa by dismissing the native students and admitting Portuguese who were already "grown-up men and barely literate" (*tutti homini grandi et non sanno apena leggere*) and by acting "with so much fervor and so much austerity, that it was necessary for Master Francis [Xavier] to remedy [the situation]."[60] Lancilotto complained about Xavier as well, since his travels to distant places made him incapable "of governing and administering things here."

Fervors or Obedience: Renouncing Martyrdom

Francis Xavier did try his best to do something about the explosive situation created by António Gomes's dangerous Coimbra fervors. In November 1549, thousands of miles away in Kagoshima, Francis Xavier wrote to Goa about his new Japanese mission but also about the meaning of obedience and the dangers of unruly zeal.

> And believe me that there are many kinds of fervors, or it would be better to say, temptations. There are some who are busy inventing ways, under the guise of piety and fervor for souls, to be able to avoid a bit of a cross, so as not to deny their desires in doing that which they have been ordered to do by obedience, seeking to obtain something

> greater without reflecting that one who has no virtue for what is small will have even less for that which is great. . . . I am afraid that it may happen that some will come from Coimbra with these fervors and in the tumults of the sea will perhaps prefer to be in the holy company of Coimbra than on board ship, because there are certain desires that vanish before one reaches India. . . . See what happens to the premature fervors that are prematurely raised, how dangerous they are when they are not well grounded.[61]

It is all the more paradoxical that such advice came from the most zealous of all missionaries, who is reported to have cried out "more, more, more" (mais, mais, mais) on a few occasions in high-voltage spiritual contemplation; even more than that, he cried out, "it is enough" (*satis est*), when he felt his heart at the point of bursting. The same triple *magis* is also attributed to Loyola.[62] In a well-known process of institutionalization of charisma, described prominently in Weberian sociology, the same fervent practices by the prophetic founders are branded dangerous surplus energy and denied to the founders' immediate followers. According to Xavier's prescription, missionaries in Asia were to follow orders from the superiors and behave in a restrained and disciplined manner while avoiding all violent emotionalism. The tension built into this system originated from the muddled definition of the nature of the higher/highest authority. The ultimate sanction for one's action had to come from the divine will. Xavier repeated over and over in his letters that a missionary was merely an instrument of celestial volitional acts. However, the discernment of the will, or the process of knowing and feeling the will of the other as one's own, described and prescribed by Loyola's spiritual exercises, led to extreme psychological individuation that could in turn lead to blind discipline, on the one hand, and to dispersion of political authority on the other. In Xavier's vocabulary, disobedience, willfulness, uncontrollable desires, and fervors were satanic illusion. "I live in great fear that Lucifer, using his many tricks and having transformed himself into the angel of light, might come and trouble some of you," he wrote in the same letter from Kagoshima.[63] The recentering of authority within the Jesuit order, not even one decade after its birth, required a new type of legitimization, given the type and the scope of political activities that were already underway on the global level. What had to be sacrificed was precisely what had been allowed to take shape through the spiritual exercises,

namely, individual volition. But this time, since it could not be suppressed or annihilated anyway, it had to be willingly renounced.

At the Jesuit headquarters in Rome, Loyola—a formerly suspected *alumbrado* (a mystic and a pilgrim)—in his new role as the founder and the head administrator of the rapidly growing order felt and faced the fervors of his followers in his copious correspondence. From 1547 on, many of his letters cautioned various members, from Juan de Polanco to Francisco de Borja, the duke of Gandía and the future praepositus generalis and saint, to curb their fervors and control their aggressive social behavior.[64] From Polanco's impatient efforts to reform the duchy of Florence to the excessive piety practiced by Borja's college community in Gandía, Loyola shaped and sharpened his ideas on the role of the will and obedience. Without propounding a full-fledged political theory, his central goal was to ensure the institutional survival of the order, and not always consciously, Loyola did conceive of a type of sociability that would be discussed in the seventeenth century as the social contract.

The blueprint for the Jesuit social contract avant la lettre, by which the members of the order were to interact with each other and with the world, was still drawn in dependency on divine authority. The sovereign was, at least nominally, beyond the terrestrial world, and he was the ultimate cause motivating the will. After establishing this "fact," all the rest was to be constructed anew. In his 1553 letter to the Jesuits in Portugal, Loyola detailed his own theory of consent or, in his vocabulary, "the obedience that consists of obeying with love and happiness."[65] One has to sacrifice one's own will and intelligence in order to execute the commands of the superior, who was to be considered as being "in the place of Christ," and thus achieve a unity of will and sentiments with the superior.

In the *Constitutions,* which he was composing at that time, the old man's staff in the hands of the superior or a corpse are metaphors closely designating the state of perfect obedience.[66] The ideal Jesuit missionary had to solicit and then conquer his own interior redoubling. After discovering and discerning his own volition and emotions with the help of the spiritual exercises, he had to make a choice between following his free will or willingly subjugating it to the burden of obedience to the superior. Loyola elaborated on this and similar predicaments, not for the sake of theoretical grounding, but to fend off the unending institutional crises the Society of Jesus faced in the early decades of its existence.

The doubts about Criminali's martyrdom were a product of these early administrative preoccupations. Running to the enemy—three times at that, according to the first report—raised Lancilotto's suspicions right away, and a year later he was of the opinion that Criminali "offered himself to death almost voluntarily" (*caje voluntariamente*).[67] So although he died "for the love of Christians," it did not make him a martyr since it occurred by his own will and not by the will of God. These are all subtle nuances and, for the uninitiated, imperceptible signs and postures; they circulated through the correspondence before being endorsed or rejected in official, central directives. In the early 1550s, not all missionaries might have understood Lancilotto's hair-splitting difference between voluntary death and martyrdom and its political implication. Particularly those who came from the college of Coimbra do not seem to have been aware of these subtle distinctions. Lancilotto was hinting at a lack of proper guidance when he wrote that "all the Fathers and Brothers desire the Constitutions with big hearts and desire to keep them and to abide by them."[68] The Jesuit manner of proceeding (*nuestro modo de proceder*) was still being chiseled out of individual experiences and accounts, but the foreigners, including Francis Xavier, increasingly criticized the gap between the Italian and the Portuguese style taught in Coimbra and transplanted to India by António Gomes. Back in Europe, the Jesuit Roman Curia was making efforts to curb the independence with which the Portuguese province, the major provider of missionary personnel to Asia, was challenging its authority. After various strategies for discreet containment failed, the "Rodrigues crisis" lasted in fits and starts from 1548 until 1553 and then continued after Loyola's death in 1556 until 1558. In the process, many Jesuits in Portugal were either dismissed or left the order. One of the reasons for carving out an independent Indian province in 1549 was precisely to downsize the Portuguese province headed by Simão Rodrigues.

Like Nicolò Lancilotto, Antonio Criminali was an alumnus of Coimbra, as were most of the Jesuits in India except Xavier, (Micer) Paulo de Camerino, and those who were locally recruited. Geographical dispersion, the presence of foreigners (Italians, one Fleming, and even some New Christians among the missionaries), and the fact that the charismatic leadership was, in spite of his travels, solidly in Xavier's hands made the echoes of the crisis in Portugal relatively weak; they were only vaguely mentioned in Jesuit missionary correspondence. The "Gomes crisis" in India was linked to the "Rodrigues crisis" structurally, rather

than in terms of straightforward influence. The model of charismatic leadership was tested in this transitional period and failed. In a way, both Gomes and Xavier, the two protagonists and mutual antagonists, were on the wrong track concerning the style of leadership that would ultimately develop, but the contingency of history and Jesuit historiography made one into a saint and the other into a rebel whose name would, some time later, be literally scratched out of the manuscripts.

In the middle of these institutional shifts and disagreements, Criminali's martyrdom came as a confirmation of the mistaken direction taken by the preparation of the Jesuit missionaries in Coimbra. Instead of preserving his life for the greater utility, as prescribed by Loyola, he lost his head, literally, because of his imprudent fervent passions and his meddling in a "war" that was directed not against Christians but against the Portuguese. The accusation was never spelled out this clearly, and some efforts were nevertheless made to turn him into a saintly figure. Some Jesuits already called him *benaventurado,* a clear sign of their readiness to extend their support for canonization.[69] Henceforth, whenever a Jesuit died or was subjected to torture or violence, Criminali was often mentioned in comparison as the first to suffer and die among the missionaries. The list was getting longer every day: Adam Francisco and Paulo do Vale died of exhaustion and illness, Nuno Ribeiro in Amboina (Ambon) was allegedly poisoned, the Badagas chopped off Luís Mendes's head in 1552, and most of the missionaries and their catechists, including Henrique Henriques, were imprisoned and tortured at one point or another.[70]

For the next fifty years, the missionaries painstakingly collected accounts of testimony concerning Criminali's death.[71] In 1559, Marcos Nunez reported on the Eucharistic miracle, the host turning into flesh and blood, that occurred during the Mass in Beadala (Vēdālai) in view of João Fernandes Correa and his soldiers twenty days before Criminali died.[72] There was, however, no sustained local incentive to promote Criminali's sanctification. No cult or pilgrimage site came into being in Vēdālai itself, and thus no miracle healing was ever reported. His body disappeared without a trace or any relic to "translate" to other places that would be safer for or more receptive to it, and thus to its holy powers. Lastly, and importantly, the superior of the mission, Henrique Henriques, streamlined the mission into a linguistic experimental mission. Learning Tamil better than the Tamils was the ultimate slow martyrdom he offered to the missionary novices. By 1577, Everard Mercurian,

the general of the order, upgraded linguistic proficiency and the "gift of languages" in the missions into a direct reflection of divine grace.[73]

Around and after the middle of the sixteenth century—that is, between Loyola's last years, during which he worked on the *Constitutions* and the first general congregation, on the one hand, and Diogo Laínez's assumption of the leadership of the order, on the other—on the question of how to proceed, Rome turned decidedly against the use of physical violence. Violence was increasingly regarded not only as originating in the impulses of the lowest of passions, such as anger, but also as essentially inefficient, since it targeted the body and not the soul. Even self-inflicted violence, such as penance and mortification, was considered useless, as the dangerous Coimbra fervors proved, without interior forces grounded in abnegation and total obedience. It is almost with disgust that Polanco warned António de Quadros, the provincial of the Indian province, never to allow the Jesuits to use firearms, after he had come to know about one such incident on the island of Chorão in the vicinity of Goa.[74] "Carrying arms is neither licit nor decent for men of our profession and Your Reverence should make sure that ours use their own arms, which are spiritual, and leave those others to the laymen (*seglares*)."[75] Violence was, therefore, to be countered with words or with strategic retreat. Direct agonistic behavior was to be replaced by equally dangerous, but playful, hide-and-seek with the enemy. Confrontation and coercion were to be avoided in favor of accommodation to the given situation.

Finally, an official document, a memorandum—"Que ad finem Societati nostrae praefixum divinae gloriae et communis boni tractanda videntur"—containing questions to be raised during the first general congregation in 1558, clearly spelled out the doubts concerning Criminali's martyrdom.[76] In paragraph sixteen, "Of facing the dangers of death," the Jesuit predicament of martyrdom is discussed in terms of the correct posture for facing the danger of death. "In one's holy desire for martyrdom," should one choose "indiscreet death of little utility" (*ad mortem parum discrete et utiliter*) or, even worse, a death lacking in divine obedience? The reverse face of the dilemma is whether excessive caution and discretion are not a way of escaping from "witnessing the faith" (*testimonio fidei*). At the end of the paragraph, the readers are invited to take as models Antonio Criminali's death and the way Father Melchior Nuñez proceeded among the Chinese.[77]

There was no easy way to solve these antinomies since the desire for

martyrdom had to be encouraged while at the same time Jesuit workers in God's vineyard were few and the missions were chronically understaffed. The method of accommodation, conceptualized and put in practice mostly by Italian missionaries like Alessandro Valignano, Roberto Nobili, Matteo Ricci, and others, was one way of diffusing and masking the violence inherent in conversion as well as the violence directed against the Jesuits. Instead of portraits of black-robed missionaries facing the overwhelming armies of pagan barbarians, one finds Ricci portrayed in his silk Mandarin outfit or Nobili in his attire of a Brahman sannyasi, seated in some secluded private place and teaching his disciples. The "accommodated" vestments and gestures were their exterior body, which they defined as a body indifferent, that is, inscribed with social signs and in no essential way connected with religion or superstition. Thus the only visible site of agon and an all-out violent confrontation between Christianity and paganism was to be located within the soul. This is how Jesuit missionaries from Madurai or Beijing justified their method of accommodation to the European audience. Without state or military support, the only violence they were able to practice against paganism was through insistent interior, psychological, intellectual, philosophical, and ultimately "scientific" attacks.

Desire to Die, Desire to Watch: Jesuit Martyrdom in Transition

Considering the extraordinary outward mobility of the Jesuits, which extended to distant places in the West Indies (with or without the secular arm of the Spanish), or in the East Indies (with or without the secular arm of the Portuguese), or closer to home, by extending their missions to England, Germany, and other Protestant regions, the chances of meeting violent death were real enough. Therefore, from the late 1550s on, the figure of the Christian martyr made a comeback in the institutional limelight. The martyr returned from the edges of the known world, from the frontiers of Catholicism and, by the end of the sixteenth century, from the very bowels of Rome and its history, with the discovery and "invention" of the underground "treasures" entombed in the catacombs.[78] The spectacle of cruelty spilled out as pornography onto the walls of the Jesuit college churches in Rome; the scenes, copied and imitated in printed works, became European bestsellers. Examples of such cruel masterpieces include the frescoes that Niccolo Circignani,

alias Pomarancio, painted from 1580 to 1584 in the San Stefano Rotondo, an ancient basilica built in the fifth century on the Caelian hill. In a series of scenes depicting the martyrdom of the early Roman Christians, Pomarancio explicitly and even obscenely brought to life the sado-erotic complicity between the voyeurism of the Roman emperors, the deadly precision of the torturers, the calm submission of the enraptured victims, and the menacing sight of the instruments of torture.[79]

A full-blown aesthetic cult of martyrs that developed in Jesuit colleges in Rome and in other Jesuit centers in Europe in the latter part of the sixteenth century, as paradoxical as it may appear, came to be an alternative way to diffuse and contain violence. The sweet death *pro fide* (for the faith) was cultivated in colleges and seminaries in Rome to prepare for the worst (or the best) those who would be called under oath of obedience to join the most difficult missions in partibus infidelium or among the Protestants. At the very same time, under the banner of "Sanguis Martyrum Semen Christianorum," the Jesuits also taught and encouraged just the opposite—the duty of preserving one's life ad majorem Dei gloriam. Thus, in 1579, Pope Gregory XIII handed over to the Jesuits the English College, a former hospice for English pilgrims, in the *città eterna*.[80] Under oath to the pope that they would all dutifully set out for the perilous mission in England after their schooling, the students of this college were hailed by everybody as future *flores martyrum* (martyred flowers), and many were in fact killed in the course of their apostolate. In the German College, the Jesuits also trained those who desired to be sent to Protestant Germany. At the same time, the Jesuit novitiate house attached to the church of Sant' Andrea al Quirinale cultivated a special atmosphere of divinely inspired suffering through a series of pictorial representations that followed young Jesuit candidates from the church to the refectory, to the recreation room, and into the garden.[81] For those who were not able to visit the novitiate, an exemplary sight/site of this Jesuit pedagogical *experimenta*, the French Jesuit Louis Richeôme provided a photographic description of its many interiors and exteriors. In some eight hundred pages, the visitor is taken on an inside journey on which the seen and the imagined, the tactile and the spiritual, the sensual and the theological substitute for each other in the flow of the text.[82] The author applied Loyola's precept for harnessing and using imagination through "composition, seeing the place," to perfection.[83] And among the many portraits on the walls, none of which survive today, Antonio Criminali

was finally accorded the place he was officially denied—that of the first Jesuit martyr in Asia.

Aesthetic reproduction of martyrdom in the Jesuit sacred art of the early modern period turned into a useful facade behind which the very serious, systematic, and hard labor of educating, persuading, converting, and making uniform ever-resistant human material could continue as usual. The romantic plot from early desire to final martyrdom that grew in circles around many Jesuit vitae and in printed books and paintings was allowed as a dream work, a fantasy of teleological closure, an ultimate divine insurance policy for each and every member of the Society.

CHAPTER FIVE

Tropical Sins and Sins of Hinduism

Jesuit missionary reports from India around the turn of the seventeenth century endeavored increasingly to transport European imagination into the culturally "thick" but, as the Jesuits came to believe, aesthetically appalling and morally deficient world of the natives in the name of scientific interests, "true" information, and ethnographic comparison. In addition to the private Jesuit correspondence, official exchanges, and *Annual Letters* (the first written from Goa in 1552), the inspired Jesuit travelers and writers offered texts concerning either particular problems and topics encountered in their missionary field (usually entitled *Relação, Tratado, Summário, Livro da* [. . .], *Commentarius,* etc.) or general hagiographic histories of the Jesuit missions in Asia.[1]

These additional Jesuit texts represent a self-conscious effort to order, classify, describe, and remember significant Jesuit actions in the missionary field and their cultural experience of a non-European, non-Christian reality. While Jesuit hagiographies continued to nourish a wide range of historiographical projects, both pro- and anti-Jesuit, during the seventeenth century and all through the Enlightenment, Jesuits' field notes or treatises containing information about native cultural practices, cosmologies, and world views inspired many of their learned contemporaries, from theologians and moralists to polymaths and scientists. Although the critique of non-Christian beliefs, presumed to have been initiated by one or the other demonic agency, was the main goal of these texts, the desire for knowledge, or perhaps simply for telling curious and edifying stories, often surpassed the limits of the missionary framework and facilitated the "discovery" and representation of the native social and cultural patterns that were then amply used and often reordered by the European-based compilers and writers.[2] The fact that Jesuit missionaries often produced written materials without specifically acknowledging individual authorship made way for the no-

torious traffic and falsification of their ethnographic texts well into the nineteenth century.[3]

The devil of contention appeared, however, more than ever in the realm of what was perceived and conceptualized by the missionaries as social rather than religious phenomena. Jesuit interest in and penetration of the "pagan" or "infidel" social field was not accidental but was enshrined at the very core of the Jesuit being and acting in the world.[4] More often than not social and psychological engineering, for example, through education, preceded "correct" religious or theological grafting. As in the course of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries in Europe, the fissure between the social and the religious continued to grow, the former encompassing the political and the public, the latter anchoring the spiritual and the private, as Jesuit methods (educational and confessional) initially conceived to deal with both approached their apogee and declined. During the transitional phase in which religious concerns and frames of reference were gradually eclipsed by the social, especially by the end of the sixteenth and the early decades of the seventeenth century, Jesuit missionaries in Asia became increasingly interested in the problem of indigenous ethics, based on what they saw as specific psychological and physiological dispositions such as enhanced sensuality and oversexed bodily functions.[5] The origins of indigenous moral laws, resembling or dissembling "natural" laws, and their application within the indigenous social structure were debated time and again, both within India and without.[6]

By looking into two treatises, one written by a Portuguese Jesuit, Diogo Gonçalves, and the other by an Italian, Jacome Fenicio, both of whom worked as missionaries at nearly the same time and also traveled extensively through the same Malabar region in southwestern India, my aim is to juxtapose and comment on two related historical/historiographical issues. Inspired by Certeau's laconic (and by now famous) lead "because it is in fact the text's reworking of space that simultaneously produces the space of the text," the first issue concerns the narrative fabric of the texts, the analysis of which helps us discern and understand the capacity of these texts to construct ethnographic evidence.[7] The second takes us beyond the field of rhetoric through the thick and thin of Jesuit social engineering in the post-Tridentine period.

In a word, since the devil is also in *écriture,* my intention is to reveal the nexus between writing and action that produced a set of cultural

patterns and suspended in it what we have come to call *Hinduism*. More specifically, I look at how the Jesuit missionaries, called upon to implement the canons of the Council of Trent, which reemphasized the sacramental nature of *matrimonium*, came to conceptualize the marriage and kinship institutions they encountered in the Malabar region as "illegal" and false. At the same time, in other missionary locations in India, such as the Fishery Coast in the Gulf of Mannar, Christian communities of converts were also under pressure to emend their marriage customs and rites in order to comply with the directions from Rome, in spite of special dispensations accorded to them by the popes prior to the Council of Trent.

A close family and caste solidarity among gentiles and Christians alike appeared to the Jesuits as signs of the lack of free will (*liberum arbitrium*), itself a mixed concept containing theological shades of a misanthropic sense elaborated by St. Augustine and Luther through Erasmian human volition as dependent on, but separate from, the divine until an ever more profane meaning of individual consciousness.[8] In spite of a typically Jesuit cultivation of infinite interiority and conscious choice ("election"), refusal of or indifference to the Christian message and to conversion was immediately branded as proof of a fatal deficiency in both free will and its ultimate support, divine grace. For at least a century and a half, the Jesuits would propose various origin stories in order to explain this deficiency among the non-Christians. What those stories have in common, even when referring to different societies and cultures of Asia, is the fact that complex cultural and psychological formations were reduced in missionary texts to simplified and readily identifiable functions, as if they were a part of the same, in Jesuit words, mindless and diabolic machine (*máquina*) of paganism, which indefinitely barred these societies from practicing and developing true morality and ethics (fig. 12).[9] The same questions embedded within this mechanistic matrix, though under different guises, were taken up after Jesuit missionaries by British colonial (and various postcolonial) ethnographers. The denial of the existence of individual and social agency in Hinduism and its social and political ramifications, recently denounced by both social scientists and historians, has a long, mixed, and multiple ancestry.[10] Some of its genealogical and geological strands and layers are clearly visible in early Catholic missionary texts.

Two Jesuit Writers on the Malabar Coast in the Early Seventeenth Century

When Jacome Fenicio, a twenty-six-year-old Capuan, appeared in the Jesuit catalogue of the *Provinciae Indiae Orientalis* in 1584, he was described as learned in philosophy and theology, of good judgment and intellectual disposition (*ingenium*), and as holding the rank of confessor. In addition, according to Alessandro Valignano's confidential information, Fenicio was also "beginning to acquire experience in his office of converting infidels."[11] The same year, in a letter written in Cochin and destined for the provincial of the Jesuit province in Naples, Ludovico Maselli, Jacome Fenicio expressed his "great compassion" (*gran compassione*) for the gentiles who were living in the "misery and darkness" of superstition and who "continuously perform ceremonies, feasts and dances" for their idols (fig. 13).[12] Some twenty years later, his missionary experience on the Malabar Coast in Cochin, Purakkad (Porca in Portuguese), Calicut, Tanur, and many other smaller missions enabled him to write a compendium of information concerning, as he called it, "the first Book of the Sect of the Oriental Indians, principally the Malabars." Failure or refusal to clearly assert authorship of this text—of which the integral manuscript is available in the manuscript room of the British Library in London (Sloane 1820)—perhaps indicates that he considered it primarily as a missionary tool for collective use, as a way of introducing Jesuit missionary novices to local non-Christian cosmogony, theology, and tradition, and ultimately as a means of facilitating the composition of sermons specifically directed at refuting what were perceived as false, non-Christian doctrines. The fact that his text or major parts of it, without acknowledgment of Fenicio's authorship, acquired fame during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in works of such compilers as Philippus Baldaeus and Manuel de Faria e Sousa was unrelated to his intentions.[13]

Similarly, Diogo Gonçalves, a Portuguese Jesuit working at the same time in the same region, completed his *História do Malabar*—which he left unsigned—around 1615.[14] Compared to Fenicio, Gonçalves was less interested in theological speculation but shared his passion for the quest of "origins," the origins of political hierarchy and social structure in particular. Unlike Fenicio who recorded "pagan" phenomena and cultural patterns in order to prepare a Jesuit doctrinal offensive, Gonçalves

wrote both as a missionary and an official Portuguese spy. He provided strategic information not only on, for example, the exact location of temples and the quantity of precious materials kept on the precincts but also regarding the feasibility of an attack by Portuguese soldiers, to which he actively exhorted his compatriots. The temple of Chimindirão (Suchīndram), dedicated to Śiva and located between Kōttār and Kanniyakumari, was, according to Gonçalves, built "in the flatland, a league away from the beach from where the Portuguese, if they so desire, can attack since it is the best place on the Cape (Comorin) to disembark."[15] Another temple (*pagode*), between Kollam and Kayankulam in Trevilar (Trivilar), on a peninsular strip of land belonging to the king of Travancore, preserved, according to the Jesuit, "some treasures, so close to the beach that we could reach them from the sea with our cannon balls (*pelouros*)."[16] In addition, a big stone mosque not far from the temple could also be pounded from the sea. After these fantasies of pillaging and destruction, justified by religious righteousness, Gonçalves immediately continued with the advantages of territorial conquest and possession. "There should be more than two hundred palm trees besides many cultivated tracts (*vargens*); they give more than 20 thousand *pardaos*. Our armadas could enter through the reed bar (*barra da Bica*), pulling the galleys." The list of targets with all necessary geographical details and logistics unfolds through the succeeding pages, leading the prospective conquistador along the coast from Kollam to Cochin.[17] The kings and queens who happened to rule those coveted islands and peninsulas dotted with temples and mosques were in their turn portrayed as a bunch of bellicose little tyrants with dubious ancestors and legitimacy.

Sex, Lust, and Sociability in the Tropics

A few centuries before the appearance of ethnography, both Fenicio and Gonçalves underscored the importance of gathering evidence concerning the indigenous life-cycle ceremonies and rituals. This was not only because the reproduction of the non-Christian society, both biological and cultural, depended on them but also because the post-Tridentine papacy emphasized the sacramental nature of such ceremonies in Catholicism itself. The sacramental nature of marriage, as against Protestant opposition to such interpretation of the scriptures, was reasserted throughout Catholic Europe during the second part of

the sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth century and found its ramifications in the overseas missions in such questions as, Are there "true marriages" among the non-Christians? If there are, among which social groups? How does one define true or false marriage among the gentiles and infidels? What are the forces or actors within the non-Christian societies determining the nature of human relations such as kinship, which are closely related to the questions of marriage? And finally, how does one distinguish marriage ceremonies of the new Christian converts from the "pagan" ceremonies of the non-Christians?

Both Fenicio and Gonçalves offered descriptions and explanations by using cultural and literary material accessible to them through their knowledge of Malayalam (and Tamil in Fenicio's case). Neither of them, however, had access to Sanskrit texts, except indirectly through Brahman informants. In spite of the richness of the "facts"—keeping in mind a proviso that "factum non est verum" (fact is not truth)—that the two Jesuits collected, their conceptual post-Tridentine Catholic grid channeled this "theater of paganism," as it later came to be known, into a display of various forms of abusive, irrational behavior going against the marriage norms introduced in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century.[18]

For the two Jesuit writers, the sense of carnal lust, libido, and concupiscence wafted, so to speak, through the Malabar air, captivating the minds and the souls of the natives (both Christian and non-Christian) and imprinted upon them the metaphors and allegories of sexual desire.[19] Fenicio's rendering of the Brahmanical conception of the creation of the universe, "so much devoid of reason" (*tão fora de rezão*), rapidly turns into an inventory of sexual symbols and erotic scenes connected with the introduction into the text of the principal "Indian" deities: Bramâ (Brahma), Visnu (Viṣṇu), and Ixora (Īśvara). After an elaborate and confused story of the cosmic egg, the birth of the three gods is attributed to the appearance of a "triangular form called *tricoma sacra* in which grew another round thing called *Guiuelinga* [Śivalingam], signifying genital parts, the Guiuelinga of men and the triangle of women."[20] For a theologian such as Fenicio, creation and procreation could, on no account, be equated. Even less was he prepared to accept further information that the same "Śivalingam is the highest divinity *Egasourunam* [Ekasvarūpam]."[21]

After such dramatic staging of the creative power and action of the male sexual organ, Fenicio skillfully unseated all menace emanating

from the object in question by turning it quickly into stone. "I was surprised," he wrote,

> when I entered one day into a *teuere,* as they call the temple dedicated to gods; I saw in the chapel on the side where we place the altar on the floor the Śivalingam which was a round marble stone; as thick as a man's leg and in everything as equal and as long, more or less [the size of] an ell (*côvado*) of a hand and placed on the right side on the ground and [vertically] standing (*em pe*).[22]

Embodied in stone and enshrined in a fixed place, the Śivalingam was less threatening to the Jesuits, in so far as it could be clearly identified as an idol and its cosmic force could be refuted by conventional arguments against idolatry, employed, practiced, tested and refined by missionaries all over the globe: by the Jesuit José de Acosta in Peru, the Franciscan Diego de Landa in Yucatan, Matteo Ricci in China, and many others.[23] Nevertheless, the definition of the Śivalingam as an idol is not without problems because "the Brahmans deny that [it] denotes divine genitals: they say in addition that since gods have neither bodies nor limbs (*membros*), they [Brahmans] do not adore any limbs in that round-shaped and formless figure."[24] Confronted with indigenous opinion, a sort of *emic* information, Fenicio nevertheless privileged his own ocular testimony and his linguistic competence that had taught him that *linga,* among other things, did also mean male genitals (*partes genitais do varão*). His refusal to overlay this "pagan" object with symbolical meaning—such a procedure being in order throughout Christian history—and his insistence on its profane substances were justified in the text by the fact that the forms and figures of the Śivalingam were to be seen everywhere, in particular around the necks of the members of a certain "pagan caste" (*huma casta de gentios*), easily identified as Lingayats, and of the *Iogues* (Yogis) who chose to wear a figure in which one can see "both sexes joined in the most debased manner."

By piecing together bits of Indian cosmogony and cosmological theories of which he had only partial and secondhand knowledge, and which in themselves were not a unified system, but fragments of different textual traditions, Fenicio in addition chose to represent only those ideas that substantiated his own theological and practical missionary elucidation. Thus he stated that he was unable to exaggerate in words the brutishness (brutalidades) of these "brutish people" (*gente tão*

bruta). In the seventeenth century, the signification of the term *brutality* was closely connected with its common Latin meaning of the quality pertaining to irrational animals. For this Italian Jesuit, both the animal and vegetal worlds functioned as mirrors of Indian paganism. "Śivalingam, as we said, is a round thing and has three layers (*tres cascas*) like an Indian fig (*figueira da India*); of which they say that they got peeled away from the stem and converted (*conuerterão*) into three gods Brama, Visnu and Guiuen [Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva]."[25] The fig leaf in the story of Adam and Eve covered and uncovered "the shame," or the "the truth" if we believe Michel Foucault, while the stripping of the Indian fig fruit (i.e., banana) created Indian gods. These and similar analogies are not innocent in Fenicio's text. They are part and parcel of the missionary strategies of deriding and ridiculing in the predication Indian conceptions of the sacred. The same procedure was later used by Protestant missionaries for their famous street-corner invectives. Many of these "shameful" stories or "fancies," according to British missionaries, cannot be readily attested in either the written textual tradition in Sanskrit or in vernacular languages. They were probably a combination of written texts, existing oral stories and epics, and the imaginations of the Jesuits and their informants. Jesuit suspicions were not merely confirmed by their informants; at times even their wildest expectations were surpassed.[26]

Moreover, Fenicio and other Jesuits in the Indian missionary field conceptualized local religious practices as pulleys and axles of a diabolical machine (*máquina tão diabólica*) that processed and reprocessed similar libidinous material.[27] The episodes of divine debauchery and fornication are strung together in overlapping stories. Thus, Ixora (Īśvara, i.e., Śiva) grew a long lingam, *que he o membro uiril,* according to Fenicio, because of his desire for woman, and ploughed the world, thereby creating mountains and seas. The same desire then grew into the form of a woman (*a forma de molher*) on his back. The "pagan" Adam and Eve inaugurated a conversation—incidentally attesting George Steiner's dictum that sex is a profoundly semantic act—in a predictably lewd idiom, starting with Īśvara's question "*om,* which means do you desire (*quereis*), and the woman responded *am,* which means I desire (*quero*)."[28] The same syllables are also mentioned by Gonçalves—who confirmed that the lingam is "man's nature and the nature of their [non-Christians'] gods." While the syllables are in his view merely words of a prayer and not an erotic dialogue, the meaning,

he maintained, is too indecent to be put in words.[29] But where Gonçalves stopped, Fenicio continued with relish. Thus, when Chatti (Śakti), Īśvara's wife, was finally removed from his back and separated from her husband's body, the divine couple desired to copulate but was unable to do so because Īśvara's lingam was too long and had to be cut into eighteen pieces. And just when that problem was solved, the two of them discovered that Śakti had no vagina (*vazo*), whereupon Īśvara opened one with his finger. The blood that sprinkled forth created the sun, the moon, the stars, and all sorts of red flowers used, for example, in special ceremonies.

Although contemporary Indianists consider blood to be one of the conventional symbols of sanctity in South Indian society, for the Jesuits the connection between blood, fertility, and sanctity was quite threatening, precisely because the equation was correct from their point of view,[30] except that fertility, ideally, led to abundance in the celestial, not in the terrestrial, world. Missionaries never failed to mention in their letters that their mission was about the "harvest of souls" before the Last Judgment. As strange and appalling as these Indian creation stories might appear, they were not, in Fenicio's mind, inexplicable. On the one hand, they were typical "chimeras and metaphors . . . of which Ovid had written about," and on the other, they were human inventions caused by the "blindness of reason."[31] In between the wonders and marvels presented, Fenicio's text throngs with cautionary pointers such as "note, please, how they contradict themselves," citations of the indigenous texts and poetical verses mocking their own gods, or personally communicated opinions, mostly from "honest" Brahmans, disclaiming such abominations (*naquellas sugidades*).[32] The principal indigenous cosmological and theological error was, it is repeated again, their belief that "rational and irrational animals were made during copulation (*copula*) between Īśvara and his wife, filling the earth and the netherworlds (*padalas*) with people and demons (*racxades*)."[33]

By developing minute descriptions and qualifications of power-filled Indian divine figures, Fenicio carefully painted a background against which he would ultimately propose (or impose) his psychological definition of a Hindu person as a sexually high-strung being, without a proper sense of ethical or theological direction, who reveled in extremes.[34] His assessment, based on what is called today *Hindu mythology,* resonates at times with the conclusions proposed by Sanskritists such as Wendy Doniger. Her contention is that the Hindu mentality

does not function through compromises but rather tends to exaggerate polarities, "including potentially dangerous excesses."[35] Doniger referred here to the fact that eroticism and asceticism are inseparable, especially in the case of Śiva, since the dialectic between these two complementary states is one of the moving forces of the Hindu universe.[36] While Fenicio's text inflates erotic scenes involving all gods and their offspring, he was curiously silent on the ascetic aspect embedded in the Hindu sense of the sacred. Even when certain practices resemble the European type of penitential, austere, and mortifying behavior, Fenicio chose to underscore differences, while preserving analogies solely to undervalue and desecrate them.

Thus, Munis or *rixis* (*ṛśi*) venerated by the people are portrayed "by black pagans" as being of white complexion "with long beards, dressed in a kind of a stole which descends from the neck to the chest, crossed over (*emcruzada*) in the manner in which it is carried by our priests when they serve mass" and as living in seclusion away from human commerce.[37] However, these holy figures, resembling European religious specialists and venerated and feared by local kings, were, according to Fenicio, married (casados). Although he commented no further, the mentioning of this fact, in light of the Protestant refusal of priestly celibacy, speaks for itself.[38] Gonçalves, on the other hand, very casually, tongue-in-cheek, stated that they say that "a *muni,* which means a saint and a hermit," had six thousand sons.[39] Similarly, the description of the daily ritual use of ashes that pious Indians (*indios deuotos*) smeared on the head, shoulders, and chest, while jogues anointed their whole body with them, turns into a scatological parody in Fenicio's text. Instead of reminding him of Catholic Lenten austerities, these ashes appear as nothing but the remains of the cow's excrement (*bosta de uacca*).

A long Christian tradition of sanctity, woven together by endless individual battles against the movements of the lower parts of the body, since as St. Augustine put it, "lust ambushes the saints," operates as a subterranean frame in all Jesuit ethnographic enterprises.[40] But the desire *of* writing runs easily into desire *in* writing. Titillating and almost autoerotic passages are abundant in Fenicio's text. Especially when he braided together tokens of European sanctity and Indian obscenity. Hence, men taken for "great saints" by the people on the "Canara [coast] from Canannore to Mangalore, and to Barsalor [Basrur]," when they come out of their temples carry a little bell, just like St. Francis Xavier, except that they are all naked. Women of all walks of life,

princesses, queens, and ladies included, touch and kiss their "dishonest parts" (*partes deshonestas*). They consider themselves happy when they succeed in pulling out body hair from those parts and sport it on their ears or on their heads as relics.[41]

Gonçalves, in the *História do Malavar,* is even harsher toward Indian "paganism." His sources and interests were, however, somewhat different. Less overwhelmed with mythology and oral or written literary evidence, he collected and recorded customs, rites, and rules of sociability as they were prescribed or currently in use. While Fenicio mentioned the state (or status) of a *saṃnyāsi* (*sanegadi*) only once, and in the context of the story of Viṣṇu's lion avatar (Nṛsiṅha), Gonçalves identified the saṃnyāsi (*çaniadi*) as belonging to a particular social category not unlike that of the religious and priests in Europe.[42] As such, he claimed, they fared even better in their society than their European counterparts—ate better food, led a more luxurious life, and even had property in spite of the outward signs of poverty and deprivation. It is obvious that Gonçalves was not able to resist airing some common and quite apposite complaints by the understaffed and underpaid grassroots religious workers in the Christian missions. Where he did find a positive analogy between saṃnyāsi and European religious specialists was in chastity, although he maintained that a saṃnyāsi refrained from "using women" (*usar de molhers*), not for spiritual reasons but in order to enjoy all the other social honors and economic advantages. Obviously, here was another hint by Gonçalves as to the deprivation of the Christian religious specialists who were neither respected nor properly remunerated, and who did not enjoy women (or men, as the next phrase quite explicitly points out). Saṃnyāsi did not practice "the nefarious sin" (*peccado nefando*), sodomy, which was considered as an "abomination among the Malabars," but which confused and surprised Europeans who behaved in "these parts" worse than animals.[43]

The problem of controlling sexual desire seems to have been, not only according to the Jesuits, a major problem for the Europeans in India. The apostolate of Francis Xavier was in part devoted to that particular mission—of bringing back to the righteous path those European members whose souls and bodies were imperiled by the Oriental environment.[44] Alessandro Valignano, writing from Shimo in Japan during his first visitation of the Company's Oriental province in 1580, blamed the heat, the "dishonest clothes," the food full of cloves and pepper, and an abundance of readily available women for the loss of European

virtue in the East.[45] Female eroticism (lasciviousness, obscenity, and lust) became a "zone of encounter" with, at best, an ambiguous outcome and legacy.[46] With a surplus of supply in Asian women and those of "mixed" blood (mestiças) in their roles of legitimate spouses, servants, concubines, or slaves, a theory of moral decay (leading to the general decadência) of the Portuguese nation in the tropics found its originary moment of transgression. Uncontrolled sexual appetites of both men and women were seen as socially and psychologically destabilizing for Portuguese colonial communities. In spite of the harsh penal and judicial institutions set up in the major Portuguese enclaves, excessive violence, murder, and unruly behavior were not easily contained.[47]

In spite of an effort at injecting some "pure" Portuguese blood through the practice of *órfãs del-Rey*, the precious liquid became thinner with each generation.[48] Jesuit missionaries, and in particular foreign travelers, promoted and disseminated these ideas in print in early seventeenth-century Europe.[49] Thus, for missionaries such as Fenicio and Gonçalves and others residing in Goa, a non-European and non-Christian woman was equated with paganism, and when residing in the house of a Portuguese male, she was an element of corruption, an alien body (and mind) snatcher, leading a Christian household into dangerous religious syncretism. No wonder these and similar reports fed the imagination of philosophers such as Montesquieu, whose theory of the earth's climatic zones and their effect on the human psyche and society stigmatized the Orient as a hothouse of barbarism. Polygamy, slavery, and the personal indolence attributed to the Orientals were thus all explained and justified as consequences of *la loi naturelle* (natural law), which prevails in hot climates.[50] "The soul is like a spider in its web," claimed Montesquieu in the *Essay on Causes Affecting Minds and Characters* (1736–43), and the arrangement and condition of these fibers define the person, psychologically and socially.

The Jesuit missionaries must have felt some of those particular fibers vibrating with heat. Francis Xavier stressed the crucial importance of chastity in the mission field, while from personal and private Jesuit correspondence we at times get a glimpse of the immensity of the problem and of the various ways employed for solving it. Hence, in 1561, Henrique Henriques, a missionary on the Fishery Coast, asked for permission to try out local medicine (*mezinha*) used by jogues who in spite of the mortification of the flesh felt "no appetite coming from sensuality" (fig. 14).[51] In 1563, Francisco de Borja, the general of the

Society of Jesus, stiffly ordered António de Quadros, the provincial in Goa, to leave "the medicine for chastity" to the *bonjes* (bonzes) obviously confounding the name used for the Japanese Buddhist priests with the jogues from Henriques's letter.[52] The distrust of indigenous medical practices and the refutation of cosmological and theological conceptions by missionaries and reformers persisted throughout the colonial period in India. Fenicio and Gonçalves, for example, denounced all indigenous information as stories (*fabulas e patranhas*) produced by false and diabolical imagination, in a word, downright simulacra and illusions.[53] These were also, partly, Jesuit illusions in the double signification of *inlusiones* in St. Augustine's Latin—that of visual errors and of wet dreams.

Uses and Abuses of the Malabar Marriage Customs

After the Council of Trent, the sacramental nature of marriage was strengthened, and the Jesuits in particular were sent out to implement the reforms and counterreforms decided upon by the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church.[54] The Tridentine matrimonial code was clearly directed against too closely knit kinship bonds and solidarity. It was a war cry against community privileges and for parochial conformity. The hand of the church extended far into the bedchamber of individual married couples in order to disconnect them from the extended *familia* and link them with the larger society. The emphasis on exogamy was no innovation of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church. It was held throughout Christian history that, as St. Augustine defined it, one of the goals of exogamous marriage was to increase the relationship of love among peoples (i.e., social bonds).[55] From the theologian's point of view, marriage—an alliance important for preserving peace for the good of the commonwealth—remained for too long embedded within various incoherent communal practices—Roman, Germanic, Irish and the like.[56] It was not, in fact, until Luther branded the *matrimonium* as a purely secular affair that the Roman church showed increased interest in meddling in local customs formerly held to be unimportant. After 1563, the Council of Trent brushed aside, in the words of John Bossy, "the vast corpus of customary rites and arrangements as having no sacramental force, [and] it transformed marriage from a social process which the Church guaranteed to an ec-

clesiastical process which it administered."[57] Briefly, the marriage contract was reaffirmed as the source of grace.[58] Probably around the time that Fenicio and Gonçalves completed their treatises in which they both—Gonçalves in particular—revealed unusual matrimonial practices in Malabar, the Roman Ritual of 1612 propelled the rite from the church door to the altar, with nothing but disregard for local and varied European matrimonial customs and traditions.

Predictably, non-European, non-Christian marriage customs fared even worse. In the first half of the sixteenth century, in spite of the perceived differences, travelers and missionaries never doubted the existence of indigenous "marriages," even when certain practices were considered as strange or even appalling, such as the swapping of wives among merchants and gentlemen and the polyandry among the Nayars in Calicut, reported by Ludovico di Varthema, an Italian merchant from Bologna, whose Oriental expedition from 1503 to 1508 was presented to European readers in his best selling *Itinerario,* first published in 1510.[59] Even before him, in 1444, the Venetian Niccolò de' Conti recorded these social particularities, while the first detailed account of the extremely complex society of sixteenth-century Kerala can be found in Duarte Barbosa's *Livro,* completed around 1518.[60]

At the end of the sixteenth and in the early seventeenth century, according to Fenicio and Gonçalves, the Malabar *casamentos* were of two types: "true marriages" and those that were not true but that were forms of concubinage or prostitution. A true marriage (*casamento verdadeiro*), according to their post-Tridentine template, was a monogamous, patrilocal, patrilineal, patriarchal, nuclear family alliance based on exogamy, premarital virginity, and marital fidelity. In addition, technically, only Catholic priests were able to perform the ceremony and thus endow it with sacramental blessing. If one were to follow to the letter the Tridentine prescriptions, no pagan marriage partook of the divine grace, but the Jesuits continued to use the name *matrimonium* or *casamento,* either in a descriptive sense or to designate those customs that did not "contradict reason and natural light."[61] Both Fenicio and Gonçalves agreed that only men from certain social groups practiced true marriages, while others either had no ascertained wives or changed them as they desired. Brahmans and, according to Gonçalves, Chatis (Chettis), or the merchants, had only one permanent wife (*uma soo molher e perpetuo*) in a true marriage. Next mentioned in this category were *castas* (castes) of people called Chanas (Shanars), who, according to

Gonçalves, did not divorce and their wives did not remarry after the husbands' death. It is striking that the Jesuits clearly separated, in this short paragraph on true marriages, the Chanas, the low-status toddy tappers and palm tree climbers, from the Brahmans and Chetins (Chettis), as if observing the indigenous hierarchy and pollution rules that segmented the Malabar social texture into islands of castes and lineages.

The majority of the non-Christian population was thus perceived by the Jesuits as living in adulterous, that is, sinful, relationships. From Siri Cristna (Śri Kṛṣna), who married sixteen thousand women in one day, to protagonists in the stories of celestial, demonic, and terrestrial sexual encounters, the same point is made ad nauseam by Fenicio concerning Indian gods and goddesses. Actually, mythic, historical, and ethnographic material is projected simultaneously on his textual screen, with the result of effacing clear distinctions between them. Compared to Fenicio's psychological analysis of Indian mentality, Gonçalves appears as a matter-of-fact, no nonsense ethnographer. He relied on ordered lists, taxonomies, and classifications, both those provided by his informants and his own. Thus he identified the normative *varna* divisions as castes: "among Malavares [Malabars] there are three castes, I say, four principal: bramenes, chatira [*kšatriya*], vayxia [*vaiśya*], chudra [*śūdra*]."[62] All those who did not belong to these social categories were, according to Gonçalves, divided according to their professions (*officios*) and were mostly "mechanics" (*mecanicos*) and workers and soldiers. His obsession with precision, accuracy, and exactitude is visible on the formal level of his narrative organization. His text is broken into small chapters swarming with marginal annotations on each page, as if all difference or particularity must be noticed immediately *prima vista*. The same procedure is employed in his chapters on travel through the region. In a series of quick strokes, Gonçalves provided the most efficient road guide for an idle (or busy) Portuguese itinerant merchant: names of the places and tips for avoiding local custom posts (*juncão*), which seem to have been dotted along the route. At one point, in order to travel twenty-five leagues (*legoas*), one had to stop at nineteen custom posts.[63]

Some of the chapters contained, however, longer and more detailed information, especially those regarding the four varnas and their various customs and rites. Falling under the category of social elite, these lineages were of special interest to the Jesuit missionaries. Although they did target social elite in Europe, the trickle-down theory of conver-

sion was neither a Jesuit invention nor the only drive behind their ministry.[64] However, clearly identifying and "persuading" the local notables, aristocracy, and intelligentsia became a prominent part of the strategy in those overseas missions in which Portuguese military support played no such role as in Japan, China, or certain Indian missions.[65] Although in the Malabar region the Jesuits never consciously or willingly mobilized their accommodationist pastoral and conversion method, their interest in local social elite was in no way diluted. Often, however, the missionary highlight on the indigenous aristocracy was but a way of delegitimating local political and leadership structures. In the paragraph entitled "Marriages of the Malabar Kings Who Are Not Brahmans," Gonçalves endeavored to prove just that—the illegitimate status of the Malabar kings.[66]

Even if some of Gonçalves's deductions and assertions laminate and distort social reality, a few insights into the workings of certain Malabar marriage arrangements are quite accurate. For example, what demographers and anthropologists later termed *hypergamy,* Gonçalves clearly described in the marriage system practiced by kings and other castes, particularly the Nayars. On the other hand, he never identified the royal lineages as Nayar subgroups—who therefore remained, in his view, the lowest caste, or śūdra, in the prescriptive fourfold varna scheme in which kings are identified as kšatriya. In addition, according to Gonçalves, some kings were Brahmans:

> Since the Malabar kings are not all mutually related—some being of the Brahman caste, as we said, other of *chatriâ* or *caimâr,* who are those of Muterte, Lerte, Cochim and Cranganor, others are those called *chamanter* [*sāmanthar*] who are those who proceed from the 8 servants of the Cherumam Perumal [Chēramān Perumāl], among whom four are relatives—but the custom is not to marry each other.[67]

Nevertheless, when deeper cultural predicaments were not evident to him, partly due to his dependence on local informants, he was able to grasp the epiphenomena and the visible causal chains in social interaction. Honorable women, according to Gonçalves, have to marry upward, that is, find men who enjoy status higher than the women and their lineage. Men, on the other hand, can entertain lower-caste women. While low-caste men pollute through sexual intercourse higher-caste women, low-caste women gain in status through association with

higher-caste men. Historians and anthropologists of Kerala have amply confirmed this early Jesuit assessment.[68]

Discreetly, however, we are led to think that these customs, perceived as abusive, come from the fact that kings do not practice perfect marriages: "The kings do not marry with the women of their caste because they are all relatives, nor do they marry other [women] because they are not of an equal rank with them, and live only in concubinage (*amancebados*)."[69] For this reason, the inheritance passes from the king to his nephews, his sister's sons, while his own sons have only the status of a *tambi* (a younger brother) and "have no more honor than their father wants to accord them during his lifetime." The fact that sons do not inherit is a much greater abuse in Gonçalves's view than the king's extramarital sexual liaisons. For this combative Portuguese, illegitimacy in kinship is very close to illegitimacy in kingship. Hence, his self-righteous invitation to the Portuguese colonial authorities to conquer these small Malabar kingdoms. The justification of the conquest was, as Gonçalves demonstrated in his treatise, the existence of aberrant *costumes politicos* (political customs).

The distinction between the religious and the political, in its early modern meaning of social, political, and civil combined, is one of the landmarks in the early seventeenth-century ethnographic treatises written by the Jesuits.[70] Malabar and other "pagan" marriage customs were generally assigned to the political sphere. Among political customs a further distinction is often made between those that can be accommodated in Christianity, that is, those that the new converts were allowed to practice and those that should be, as Gonçalves put it, extirpated (*desterrar*) because "they cannot be tolerated without sin."[71] The raging contemporary debate between supporters of accommodation and those against it reverberates in these statements. Gonçalves took a conciliatory position since he thought that "sometimes it is convenient to dissimulate, principally in those things that are not clearly against natural reason."[72]

In the first part of the third book of *História do Malabar,* Gonçalves attacked the errors and abuses concerning marriages defying both natural reason and the divine law that prescribed that the *essence* of marriage was an everlasting husband-wife union with the unique *goal* of creating children and of being free of sexual incontinence.[73] The polygamy of the Muslims with their "impious legislator and false prophet Mafamede" and the polyandry of Nayars make up the first abuse since

nothing superfluous could be considered either natural or good. Even the mating of birds is performed between one female and one male. All political nations (*naçoens politicas*) and even gentiles (gentios) practice monogamy, claimed Gonçalves, unless this divine law had been spoiled in the course of time. The customs of Brahmans and Chettis (lineages of patrilineal descent) in this respect prove that the "light of the evangelical doctrine" was, in some distant past, cast over India. The presence of St. Thomas Christians in the neighborhood, although not evoked at this point, was implied. Indian mythology, however, enabled Gonçalves to locate the early Hindu-Christian encounters around the time of the birth of Christ (fig. 15). Thus he interpreted the story of the battle between Hiraṇyakaśipu and Nṛsiṅha (Viṣṇu's avatāra) as a fight between Lucifer and the Son of God. In his story the wooden pole from which Nṛsiṅha appeared turns into a cross.[74] Gonçalves, in a truly baroque spirit, relished what can be termed *Christian ethnographic allegories,* which, to paraphrase James Clifford, have the propensity to generate parallel stories and repeat and displace prior ones.[75]

The second abuse against the substance of marriage, according to the normalizing pastoral apparatus of missionaries, was the fact that there were no durable and fixed marriages among Nayars. Since the marriage vow was seen as identical to the religious vow, it ought not to be broken because, claimed Gonçalves, "it is very difficult to be forced to persevere with only one woman until death . . . , I do not deny that, and even the Gospel confesses it [Matt.19:10], but it is in this difficulty that lies the virtue and the good."[76] Again, sexual desires are indicted as being at the root of the fundamental emotional instability of the human condition, which leads to general social anarchy, as the Malabar unnatural and abusive social customs, according to Gonçalves, amply proved.

Pollution, Free Will, and Indian Christian Marriage

There were various other "disorders" in Malabar marriage customs. Some of them, according to Gonçalves, were also practiced by Malabar Christians, such as marrying a brother- or sister-in-law after the death of a wife or a husband. In addition, a secondary list of relatively minor errors, but "ordinary among the Malabars," such as dowry to the bridegroom, the age of consent as low as nine years, and marriages within

degrees of kinship prohibited by the Catholic Church, brings home some immediate missionary problems.[77] The decrees (*decretos*) of the notorious Synod of Diamper (Udayamperur) of 1599, by which Dom Frey Aleixo de Meneses, the archbishop of Goa, tried to, once and for all, Latinize the rites and customs of the insubordinate native Christians of St. Thomas, repeat mostly the tenets of the Council of Trent, but they also evoke through various interdictions the same matrimonial abuses and "superstitious rites" mentioned by Gonçalves twenty years later.[78]

Similarly, although Indian Christians in Goa were subjected from the 1550s onward to a rapid Latinization, all ecclesiastical provincial councils (1567, 1575, 1585, 1592, and 1606) continued to condemn superstitious practices seeping into Catholic ritual. In light of the Council of Trent, some of the "abuses"—such as excesses of community solidarity, marriage within the prohibited four degrees of consanguinity and affinity, and the disregard for mutual consent—might not appear to be exclusively related to the encounter with the local, non-Christian matrimonial practices in Kerala and southern India. However, on one crucial point the Indian social context was perceived as unique and dangerously different. Catholic religious specialists, Jesuits in particular, agreed that in India the excess of pollution rules governing the natives turned them into blind people and unthinking animals. Fenicio ridiculed the pollution rules in the creation stories collated in his treatise. According to Fenicio's rendering, when the founder of Malabar, Parexé Rama (Parāśurāma), made the waters recede and recuperated the land for its inhabitants, he ordered them to perform certain ceremonies, *carma* (karma; Sanskrit, works, rites). Hence, the other name of Malabar is *carma pumi* (*karmabhūmi*)—the land of karma. The basic principles of these ceremonies were touchings (*toccamentos*) and baths (*lavatórios*), which "no other nations practice," nor do Malabars when away from their land of karmabhūmi.[79] Gonçalves reiterated and confirmed the existence of strict regional purity and pollution rules in the first sentence of the *História do Malabar,* while adding a touch of original sin to the story. Thus at the command of his father, Parāśurāma killed his mother (Reṇukā), who had committed the sin of desiring in her mind another man, a giant (*gigante*) whom she saw playing with his own wife. In order to wash away the sin of matricide (*alimpar deste peccado*), Parāśurāma left his country, where he was not allowed to perform appropriate ceremonies. Ever since, the inhabitants of Malabar land have been induced to repeat the same expiatory and propitiatory rites.

The consequence of the original pollution of the Malabar founding father, according to both Fenicio and Gonçalves, is the obsession with cleanliness, which in turn divides the fabric of society into hierarchically and clearly separated units. Although both missionaries were outraged at certain "injustices" and extremes, the existence of social inequalities was absolutely natural to them.

> That they have different castes, would be a bearable thing, if they were kept [organized] as they are among us, as lineages and families; because in the true republic all cannot be equal, . . . but that the major importance is given to blood and to caste, means forcing everyone to follow the same condition and office as his father, without opening the way for all to distinguish themselves according to their natural inclinations.[80]

Gonçalves's statement is truly baroque and Jesuitical in the sense that it defends simultaneously two opposing propositions, one conservative and the other almost revolutionary. José Antonio Maravall identified this phenomenon as the morality of accommodation, the traces of which can also be found in Cartesian provisional morality.[81] Gonçalves was as far from the ideas and conceptions we could tentatively call *cultural relativism* as some of his contemporaries and Jesuits such as Matteo Ricci or Roberto Nobili were close. In fact, his critique of the ethics of kinship is perfectly in line with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, although, if only for a brief moment, he pushed much further the celebration of individual freedom of choice in a combination of Renaissance self-fashioning and baroque individual exuberance.

Individual freedom of choice in the early seventeenth century is, of course, not identical to the free will elaborated by the Augustinian tradition. Gracián's aphorism "There is no perfection where there is no choice" does not denote a mere individual, interior state but an active, exterior exercise of freedom.[82] Similarly, Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* emphasized and prescribed the "discernment of will" in spiritual and practical matters, as a sort of perpetual bifurcation.[83] In the same vein, Gonçalves pronounced his judgment that the Malabar "pagans" and Muslims had no *livre alvedrio* (liberum arbitrium) but ascribed all worldly occupations to fatality, destiny (*fado*), and occult forces. He criticized in this respect the belief in *taley elutu* (Tamil, *talai eḻuttu*), "the writing on the head," by which the gods predetermine the course

of individual life at the time of birth, and the belief in various other omens and portents.[84] If one were to rewrite Gonçalves's conclusion in contemporary anthropological jargon, the concept of agency is the first that would come to mind as a replacement (translation) for liberum arbitrium. Hence, the Malabars' inability to construct a subject position in order to act freely in an infinite world of baroque mentality is woven like a *fil rouge* through the subtext of the Jesuit ethnographies in the early modern period.

Both missionary texts that we have examined here overstate the lack of meaning in indigenous institutions, equating "pagan" cultures with senseless machines, without interior centers or frames for human feeling, intention, or action. Marriage customs and kinship structure were therefore conceptualized as an outgrowth of a disordered imagination, governed by carnal desires. Fenicio clearly stated that all "pagan" festivals "affirm the laws professed by carnal people; without any spirit in them."[85] For Gonçalves, "not only is it false, the sect of these pagans, in what they teach about God, as we saw; but it is false in what they teach about the ultimate goal (*ultimo fim*) since they locate it in carnal pleasure with many women."[86] The quest for meaning in the indigenous institutions is an anthropological gesture par excellence, while the denial of a possibility of a "true" indigenous hermeneutics was a common missionary perspective. All missionary enterprise remains firmly grounded in a denial of indigenous ontology and epistemology.[87]

The "webs of meaning," therefore, in which the Jesuits were suspended, especially concerning areas such as sexuality with which they were supposed to deal as individuals and as missionaries, prepared the ground for a certain anthropological configuration of knowledge of the other, always tainted with debilitating prudishness. Yet these two texts from the early seventeenth century are interesting not only because they stand in a chain of genealogies leading to contemporary disciplines that study Hinduism from anthropological, social, and cultural perspectives but also because these texts, especially *História do Malabar,* do not assign Brahmans the preeminent role in society. In the long run, European episteme privileged the figure of a Brahman, characterized/caricaturized as both a prude and a pervert, and overestimated his societal importance. The figure of a Brahman, in his role of a philosopher, reclaimed some of the "agency" qualities denied to "pagan minds" but compelled, on the other hand, the eroticized topography of Indian culture to the margins of the Jesuit missionary horizon of interest.[88]

PART III

Disciplining the Tropics

CHAPTER SIX

A Medical Mission in Goa

Pedro Afonso and Giovanni Battista de Loffreda

Curavimos Babylonem, et non est sanata, dereliquamus eam
—Jer. 51:9

Jesuit commitment to hospital and medical care in overseas missions in India and Asia in the sixteenth century created both normative and practical problems and sparked controversies within and outside of the Society of Jesus. According to canon law, ordained priests and religious were not allowed to study or practice medicine beyond common charitable acts, nor without a special papal dispensation.[1] Inspired partly by the renewal of charitable and philanthropic activities of laymen and religious people that marked the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Jesuit works of mercy (*opera caritatis*), that is, the way the Jesuits carried out and organized charitable tasks, became one of the most prominent precursors of modern social and "welfare" institutions.[2] With its diversified recruitment policy and the particular internal organization of its members, the Society of Jesus was able to spread its influence to all facets of Catholic community life and to organizations of public assistance.[3]

Premised on an active apostolate and engagement in worldly affairs, in contrast to the contemplative medieval models of religious communities, the Jesuit order, as normatively crafted from its inception by Ignatius of Loyola and, among others, Jerome Nadal, was uniquely prepared to face the political, cultural, geographical, and linguistic diversity of the newly enlarged world in which they were supposed to act in accordance with the imperatives of the Catholic Church. By developing a particular conception of spirituality for its members, perfectly encapsulated in Nadal's lapidary expression as "contemplation in action" and first staged in Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises,* the Jesuits were compelled to obey the rules inherent in what de Certeau called the "enactments of doubling";

George Herbert Mead, "taking the role of the other"; and Erving Goffman, "impression management."[4] In other words, the Jesuits' propensity to persuasively attribute spirituality to acts and actions commonly considered profane or to elevate an ordinary thing into an extraordinary event appears to be at the heart of what the *Formula of the Institute of the Society of Jesus* calls the "ministry . . . of the Word of God."[5] This propensity, of course, drew admiration from their followers and provoked scorn and accusations of duplicity from their detractors.

According to the *Formula,* one of the privileged places for "exerting themselves in the Lord's vineyard" by way of the ministry of the Word was in a hospital or in another charitable institution.[6] In the *Constitutions,* one or two months of service in a hospital is the second testing experience for novices wishing to join the Society of Jesus, after taking the spiritual exercises.[7] Moreover, a novice had to bring back "testimony . . . from the directors . . . or those who serve in the hospital, about the good reputation he established while there."[8] In the early modern world, a good reputation was probably the most precious capital and currency in interpersonal and public or political transactions. Good reputation, in this sense, was considered nothing less than one of the inalienable properties of the Jesuit persona. Without it, of course, one was not a Jesuit. The ultimate goal of maintaining such a reputation was the conversion of souls "for the greater glory of God."

Curing the body made no sense whatsoever in this "welfare" economy without curing the soul. The same ideology of charitable works, based on spirituality and confraternity, was at the heart of the confraternities and of the Misericórdia, a specifically Portuguese solution to early modern welfare problems.[9] But it was Jesuit hospitals that, in such vast overseas non-Christian territories as India, became veritable missions, encompassing both Loyola's initial understanding of this word as an act of sending someone, of tasks to be performed, and a later, generally accepted, sense of a geographical or enclosed space marked out for evangelization.[10] My concern in this chapter is to examine the Jesuit medical mission in the Portuguese Estado da Índia and its capital Goa in the sixteenth century and to chronicle its rise and decline or, more precisely, to delineate an important reorientation in Jesuit involvement in medical assistance. One of the reasons for the decline, I argue, was the low and somewhat ambiguous status accorded to the medical professional within the Jesuit hierarchical system of internal promotion, and its inherent contradiction with the missionary

tasks, as would be clearly and furiously stated by one Jesuit doctor in Goa. The reaction to this and similar secular experiences that led to internal contestation and ill will among the members of the Society of Jesus gave rise during the last two decades of the sixteenth century to a new politics of spirituality, closely connected with the accelerated proliferation of rules and regulations.[11] Claudio Acquaviva, who vigorously headed the Society from 1581 to 1615, imposed a new coherence on Jesuit apostolic actions through what one might call "stringent spiritual bureaucratization." For the sake of more concerted efforts and without dissipating energies on what Jesuit texts repeatedly call not "useful to the souls," Acquaviva's program narrowed the Jesuit sphere of action, and certain "dead branches" were left to wither.

Hence, by the end of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits in Goa progressively disengaged themselves from providing direct medical aid as professional physicians and surgeons and became involved instead in a larger-scale hospital administration. Elsewhere in India and Asia, dispensaries were set up all over the territory of Jesuit missions far from Portuguese colonial jurisdiction, such as those on the Fishery Coast or in the Madurai mission, where the cure was, as a rule, left in the hands of local converts.[12]

Moreover, as the Jesuit medical mission with Jesuit physicians faded into the past, literature produced by the Jesuits, among whom Claudio Acquaviva was the most prominent, increasingly used the metaphors of *medicine, healing,* and *cure* to define their actual spiritual and missionary practices.[13]

Jesuit Healing Mise-en-Scène beyond Europe

From Francis Xavier's arrival in Goa in 1542, less than two years after Pope Paul III's final approval of the Society of Jesus, until the end of the sixteenth century, Jesuit edifices appeared throughout Asia. These ranged from simple mud huts to huge colleges with churches, schools, orphanages, *fabricas* (lay church association) and lay confraternities, dispensaries, and even hospitals. Sent under the protection of and obligation to Portuguese royal patronage (padroado), the Jesuits were invited to divide their efforts between the pastoral charge of the Portuguese expatriates and their local families, over whom loomed a suspicion of practicing "pagan" superstitions, and the conversion of the non-Christian

population (gentiles and infidels).[14] Doomed to remain forever in small numbers, one of the Jesuit superiors' early and permanent imperatives had been the division of labor and the assignment of various Jesuits to particular missionary fields and ministries. What would later be called the Jesuit penchant for order, discipline, and bureaucracy was in the very beginning an ad hoc institutional survival strategy.

From the letters written by Francis Xavier, it is quite clear that the burden of decision to send the right people to the right place, taking into consideration each individual's capacities and desires as well as the immediate requirements of the particular missions, was one of the most difficult tasks to manage for this otherwise athletic Jesuit founding father. Bound by the virtue of obedience, individual Jesuit careers were always problematic. In his ten-year electric apostolate in Asia, Xavier was probably the only Jesuit to have never obeyed anyone else; he followed his own mind and will, and when Loyola's letter finally reached Goa calling the future saint to Europe, he was already dead.[15] Therefore, Xavier's professional curriculum vitae in Asia was entirely of his own making and consisted of almost obsessive travel and the most diverse ministries corresponding to the exigencies of the topographical and anthropological configurations of the terrain.

On the other hand, he assigned his first companion, Micer Paulo Camerino, an Italian who was considered something of a simpleton, to the college in Goa.[16] Micer Paulo never left Goa and the College of St. Paul, where he ended up investing all his energy in the Seminary of Santa Fé for the native boys, the orphanage, and the Hospital of the Poor Natives (fig. 16). Due to Xavier's political visibility, his aristocratic origin, and his extraordinary and "marvelous" missionary life, his Jesuit career was crowned with the status of the professed father and, posthumously, with sainthood. Micer Paulo Camerino, on the other hand, was not incorporated into the Society before 1547, when Loyola obtained permission to create a lower grade of priests, that of spiritual coadjutors.[17]

The history of this particular decision by Loyola, of Nadal's interpretation of its meaning, and of the consequences of introducing this rank among the ordained Jesuits is yet to be written.[18] What we do know is that it created dissension and internal disputes. At the same time, it is possible that this somewhat "degraded" priestly rank enabled the Society to assimilate with relative ease those candidates whose credentials were "stained," like Henrique Henriques, Luís de Almeida, and many

others who were New Christians by birth.[19] Both Henriques, who established hospitals in Punnaikayal and elsewhere on the Fishery Coast in South India, and Almeida, who started a hospital and a medical school in Funai, Japan, became famous missionaries, but the highest they could rise in the Jesuit hierarchy was to become spiritual coadjutors. Until 1593, Jesuit policy toward the recruitment of New Christians was open. But in India, where the Inquisition, brought to Goa in 1560, wrought havoc among the New Christian families of merchants and physicians, and where the presence of Jewish merchants, especially in Kerala, was considered just as menacing for religion and good customs, Jesuits of New Christian blood were metaphorically condemned to permanent geographical marginality.[20]

The Society of Jesus, on the other hand, cultivated its image of marginality and exclusivity in the social, missionary, and spiritual senses. Jesuits fashioned themselves into permanent strangers, and technically they often were just that, in order to propose their services as objective and impartial actors in various political, cultural, and social dramas. They presented themselves as transnational handymen, social engineers, and *bricoleurs,* invited to repair the social bonds and solidarity that the Catholic intelligentsia perceived as having been damaged by the Reformation movements and the scramble for geographical expansion. The world was sick, and the remedy the Jesuits proposed was love, that is, a special kind of social bond, imperfectly resembling the divine love and implanted among the peoples all over the globe.[21] However, while the theological definition emphasized love's divine agency, Jesuits applied it as a centripetal, normalizing force that prefabricated human relations in such a way as to prevent neuralgic points from meeting and leading to conflict.[22] Jesuit love privileges social peace at the cost of uniformization and hierarchical codification. The procedure is always the same, according to Loyola's cryptic prescription "entrar con el otro y salir consigo" (one had to enter with the other in order to make him come out [of himself]).[23]

In a word, the re-formation of the interior precedes the fashioning of the exterior. Paradoxically, Jesuit experience in the distant and dangerous overseas missions in Asia would prove that, to speed or facilitate evangelization, the inverse procedure was also allowed and employed, in spite of the suspicion of dissemblance. Grafting appropriate actions (social, cultural, moral, liturgical, and economic) and inculcating correct speech and voice were part of the interior and exterior cure

and prerequisites for the new vine to spring up and thrive in the Lord's vineyard. Jesuits' involvement in the world or, as they would often repeat, with mundo, carne, diabo (world, flesh, and devil) required extraordinary physical and psychological exertion.

It is no wonder that in the recurrent theatrical mise-en-scène of Jesuit actions in this-worldly and otherworldly negotiations, the spotlight shone on bodies in pain, on fear and suffering, and on Jesuit physical labor and endurance. A letter written by Gaspar Barzaeus to Loyola in early 1553 provides a glimpse into a particular calendrical season that, year after year, continued to mobilize a great deal of Jesuit energy in Goa and enhanced the reputation of the Society's "medical" mission among the Portuguese. Between April and September, the Jesuits were sent to work in the town hospitals because it was the period of great heat (grandes calmas) in Goa, which, according to the accepted Hippocratic/Galenic humoral theory, generated mortal diseases among the population.[24] From July to the end of September, ships from Portugal arrived with large numbers of sick soldiers and passengers. Rowing out in small vessels and meeting the incoming ships and disembarking exhausted and dying Portuguese, who suffered from malnutrition, gum disease, diarrhea, and other contagious diseases, was one of the routine tasks the Jesuits performed in sixteenth-century Goa.[25] In 1563, Manuel Pereira informed his brothers at the college in Évora that more than six hundred afflicted men had arrived in Goa from Portugal and that they occupied all the available space in hospitals and in private houses.[26]

The Jesuit "Naval Mission"

According to the testimony of the survivors, Jesuits organized an ad hoc mission aboard the ships, which often turned into graveyards, providing both medical, spiritual, and practical aid to a large number of poor men who traveled without sufficient stocks of food and who were therefore the first to be struck by illness. Jesuit letters describing maritime passages, always dangerous and often dramatic and tragic, and the material and human conditions on the ship constitute a distinct epistolary genre. We might call them *separation* or *severance letters,* for they deal with the shock of removal from the known European and Christian world and the fear and excitement in anticipating new and

strange shores. The scenes of suffering and disease, one's own or others', told in often gory detail, served as ordeal narratives sublimating the past as a promise of the future. In other words, having braved and withstood these initial tribulations allowed one to interpret them as signs and omens of a brilliant missionary career in the future.

Although these separation letters were always produced a posteriori in the colleges in Goa and Cochin or other Jesuit residences under the watchful eye of the superior, and although they were written knowing well that the purpose was the edification of the lay and religious audience, the horrors of the voyage between Lisbon and Goa could not have been more vividly portrayed. If the climatic conditions—heat and cold, storm or bad air—were perceived as the obvious causes of suffering, the management of material resources and social relations was directly responsible for most of the deaths and ailments. The food rotted in the pantry while the poor starved. Men played cards, spoke profanities, quarreled, and fought to the death. The ship resembled a badly organized res publica, a mirror image of divided and de-Christianized Europe. These perceptions were elaborated further in a theory of the decadência of the *Goa dourada* (reaching its golden apogee at the time of Afonso de Albuquerque) and of the decline of the political presence of the Portuguese in Asia. In the course of time, the decadência was incarnated in various Portuguese historiographical avatars. The first contemporary texts witnessing the sorry state of the Estado da Índia were written by local religious and lay literati like Dom Frey Jorge Temudo, the second archbishop of Goa, and Diogo do Couto, a historian and the first archivist of the newly founded Tombo (Archives) in Goa.[27]

Although nineteenth-century historians, such as Alexandre Herculano, attributed its decadence to the Counter-Reformation and to the Jesuit presence in Asia and Portugal, Jesuit documents from the period in question tell a different story. They unmistakably and lengthily focus on the Jesuit role in facilitating social and spiritual regeneration and in restoring moral health. From the moment they boarded the ship in Lisbon, the Jesuits and their entourage, consisting mostly of young boys, novices, and lay brothers, launched their charitable activities and their exhortation to "conversion," that is, to renouncing such deeds as usury, libertine and lascivious behavior, and so forth. All through the journey to Goa, and especially at times of crisis due to storms, shipwreck, or pirates, the group around the Jesuit fathers, often one or two per ship, worked hard to hear confessions, absolve sinners, celebrate masses

(without consecration, i.e., *missa sicca*) and saints' anniversaries, and organize pious discussions in public and even musical concerts.[28] According to Jacobus (or Diogo do) Soveral, his passage to India in 1554 was nothing less than a pilgrimage (*perigrinação*): every day they sang litanies (*ladainhas*) and "some chanted commemorations of the saints," every day they celebrated one Mass before the altar under the top deck and the other under the forecastle (*castelo de proa*), and every Saturday and Sunday they celebrated High Mass (*missa cantada*).[29] Technically, the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus did not permit the use of music in the celebration of the mass unless it proved to be beneficial or in order to avoid scandal.[30] Thus, Soveral felt compelled to justify the employment of so much music and chant in religious celebrations during the maritime passage as a way of satisfying Viceroy Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, who traveled aboard the ship. The atmosphere did resemble that of a pilgrimage expedition, replete with tears and extraordinary gestures of piety, such as regular processions of relics otherwise kept safely in a special box (*caixinha*). Not until they had passed the equator (*linha*) and continued as far as the Cape of Good Hope and Mozambique did the heat and cold and the tormented ocean waters begin to menace the life and health of the passengers. Hence the labors of the Jesuits increased even more. When death appeared imminent, confessions multiplied, and a series of extreme practices were employed, such as immersing the relics attached to a rope into the sea or, in panic, precipitately casting them overboard "to calm the waves as big as mountains." A sliver of a true cross (*lenho*), among other holy objects, found its way to the bottom of the Indian Ocean during Soveral's voyage.

Against the climatic, social, psychological, and religious disorders experienced by the Christian community in Asia, the Jesuits prescribed a simple remedy of sacralizing and ritualizing both ordinary gestures and extraordinary events into an exemplary historical temporality. Instead of an uncertain present, the Jesuits defined the situation in Asia as a replay of the early period of the apostolic church, as experienced and described by the first apostles and the church fathers. It was to be a second beginning under their watchful eye and direction. As a result of the Jesuit program of acting upon human beings collectively through guided control (*dirigismo*)—a vast program equally espoused by European monarchies—a modern political order based on classification, normalization, and regularization received a decisive fillip.[31] Overseas missions were extraordinarily useful testing grounds for developing social theo-

ries and practical strategies that would feed into the rise of the "enlightened" modern political order of law and discipline, as Michel Foucault masterfully analyzed.[32]

In the sixteenth century, therefore, the Jesuits brought a vector of cohesion to Goa, the capital or the "key to all India," with its politically unstable jurisdiction in Asia.[33] Soveral's anthological description of his ideal ship of pilgrims is testimony to this total Jesuit project, even if it consisted merely in persuading the viceroy to outlaw card games and the use of profanities aboard ship. Thus, while the guilty were fined and imprisoned, the Jesuits hastened to convert them and cleanse them of their sins.[34] Just as a journey from Lisbon, even when repeated, was a unique event for an individual Jesuit, other maritime voyages in Asia were sources of edifying histories. In the popular sixteenth- and seventeenth-century broadsheet versions of spectacular shipwrecks, as told by the survivors and, in the eighteenth century, incorporated in Bernardo Gomes de Brito's bestseller *História trágico-maritima,* the spiritual succor given by the Jesuits and other religious orders was equally appreciated.[35] As the ship jolted and began to sink, according to witnesses, the priests and fathers worked long and hard to confess and absolve souls *in articulo mortis.* On the other hand, when dramatic events were wanting, their pious activities were reduced to the conversion of slaves, Muslim and gentile, and of Portuguese, all of whom, according to the accepted opinion, were on their way to lose their souls in Asia.[36] This "naval mission" lasted as long as the voyage and left behind nothing more than a narrative. The most durable missions required territory.

Cure and Conversion: The Hospital of the Poor Natives

In an internal document written in 1546 concerning the rules of behavior (based on the *Constitutions*) in the College of St. Paul in Goa, Nicolò Lancilotto explained why the Hospital of the Poor Natives had been "attached" to the college:

> To make the conversion of the natives effective (*effeito da comversão*), it is very useful that they see us use with them all the works of mercy and obligation so that they cannot say that, after their conversion to our holy faith, we do not take care of them, and when they

> are sick, we do not cure them, and when they die, we do not bury them, as they generally say. For this reason, the Hospital was erected for the natives (*gente da terra*) next to the house in order to be able to cure them.[37]

In addition, we learn that all the poor were to be admitted and in this way become Christians. Clearly and directly, Lancilotto presumed that the hospital was intended to draw non-Christians into the net of conversion. Behind this propagandist facade, the assistance the Jesuits provided to the most indigent in Goa was, nevertheless, real and heroic.[38] Some years later, in 1552, Reymão Pereira painted an idyllic image of the order reigning in the hospital.[39] The beds, mats, and covers could not be cleaner; the reserves of food were copious; the water from the garden well was wholesome; the chickens in the yard were destined to feed the sick; and female and male patients were separated and located in two different "houses." Some thirty to forty patients were admitted to this little medical utopia. The good example and reputation of this institution were such that, as Pereira noted, pious Portuguese chose to die in the hospital, consoled by father Micer Paulo Camerino. The governors came in person to visit the place and were "amply consoled to see the respect of good order inside."

It is quite obvious that the Hospital of the Poor Natives in Goa was intended to be more than a common hospital. It was an edifying example of the Jesuit ability to fruitfully and in an orderly manner combine the works of mercy with the ministry of the Word. In a similar way, other hospitals on the Fishery Coast and in Japan would in their turn be characterized as marvelous because of the order established within them. The obsession with order indicates that it was perceived as lacking in other charitable institutions and, perhaps, in the Estado da Índia in general. At least three other hospitals were mentioned in the contemporary sources, without much enthusiasm for their effectiveness: the Royal Hospital (Hospital del-Rey), the Hospital for Incurables (Hospital de Todos os Santos established by the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Goa), and the Hospital for Contagious Diseases (São Lazaro). Although information about the functioning of the last two in the sixteenth century is scarce, they did not serve to cure the diseased but to nurse them until death and, more importantly, to remove them from public sight lest they contaminate the healthy.

The Royal Hospital probably had, among these institutions, the

best record of curing patients, and it was, in fact, intended to do so. Nevertheless, its statistics of success appear to have been less than brilliant and confirm the adage that one had equal chances to be cured by a doctor or to be killed by him. In its own right, the Royal Hospital, founded by Afonso de Albuquerque and administered by the Misericórdia, was an important institution in Portuguese Goa because it was an exemplary charitable work, a showcase of the royal and official care given to Portuguese soldiers. In principle, at least, no mestiço or foreign men were eligible for admission to the hospital. While exceptions were made, women were never admitted. Hospitalizing women was a problem even for the Jesuit Hospital of the Poor Natives, and the practice of housing men and women in the same building was quickly discontinued. In terms of prestige and reputation, therefore, the Royal Hospital was to the viceroyal government what the Hospital of the Poor Natives was to the Jesuits. Reymão Pereira's statement that the governors came to visit the hospital "to be consoled" appears in this new light as a pragmatic act of reconnaissance rather than a spiritual or pious visit. From Francis Xavier onward, Jesuits did in fact possess a sufficient knowledge of hospital administration and of the latest methods in hygiene and nursing, both because of the compulsory novitiate "experiment" and because, in this manner, new recruits were invited to repeat the gestures of the founding fathers in the hospitals of Venice.[40]

Even otherwise, the Jesuits in Goa were present in all hospitals and in private homes as confessors and nurses. It was not until 1560, after the death of Micer Paulo Camerino, that the first Jesuit surgeon, Pedro Afonso, started to practice in the Hospital of the Poor Natives.[41] By that time, the hospital was already famous and endowed with revenue by the Estado da Índia. According to Reymão Pereira, the former governors and Viceroy Antão de Noronha confirmed in 1552 that the sum of three hundred *pardaos* be given to the hospital from the revenues collected in Bardez and Salsete. With the revenue money, the alms, and reparations (*esmolas e restituiçoes*), Micer Paulo constructed a chapel, Nossa Senhora da Consolação, next to the hospital.[42] And thus, Pereira noted, the Hospital of the Poor Natives, located in a very busy street (rua da Carreira dos Cavallos), became an exemplary edifice in the urban landscape of Goa.[43]

In 1550 financial resources were relatively easy to procure in Goa. Donations for the College of St. Paul poured in from all sides. In the hectic daily Jesuit routine in those years, the only thing that seems to

have been in short supply was time. In the hagiographic literature, the Jesuit athletes are often cast as zealous somnambulants who practically never closed their eyes. In practice and according to Loyola's prescriptions, from the *Spiritual Exercises* to the *Constitutions,* the daily routine spent in contemplation or in profane activities—sleep, "recreation," and rest included—was regulated to the minute, especially in the larger, "mixed" collectivities under Jesuit supervision, such as colleges, hospitals, and the like.

In 1552, Gaspar Barzaeus promulgated "the general rules of the house" in Goa by "taking into account the spiritual advice of Father Master Symão [Rodrigues]" and adapting it as much as possible "to the dispositions of the country."[44] The impulse to objectify and prescribe the smallest gestures—including those of a brother in charge of washing clothes (*roupeiro*) or one in charge of awakening everybody in the morning (*despertador*)—was a way of linking sacred and profane with an invisible hand. In other words, the most humble tasks were associated with a Christic imagery, and all physical labor was presented as the labor of Christ. Washing clothes became washing clothes in place of Christ. Or, if one prefers a twofold cynical approach, this is what those who gave orders made those who received them believe or, inversely, what those who received orders pretended that they believed to those who gave orders. Who controlled whom is uncomfortably difficult to establish—except when there is a crack in the facade and the demons of controversy appear to reveal conflicting views and opinions.

On the other hand, the repetition implied in these rules must have been reassuring. A Jesuit nurse (*infermeyro*), for example, had a variety of responsibilities and a precise time schedule. In the morning, before anything else, he had to verify the health of the brothers and inform the doctor if any were sick. If this was the case, his duty was to provide comfort to the patient by ensuring that he was served special food and that his room was clean and by simply being patient with him

> in speech and in your example, because this is the principal virtue that you should employ in your office by always imitating Christ among his disciples. Be careful that their foul smells and their infirmities do not disgust you and make you sick, because it is your sins that make you sensible to these smells; Christ was not revolted when he ascended Mount Calvary where he washed away your sins.[45]

As elsewhere, the Jesuits were invited to play the role of Christ in using their own talents for the benefit of others. The problem (or solution) was that the judgment of individual talents was made in accordance with the rule of obedience, abnegation, and indifference. In this sense, the life of the surgeon Pedro Afonso is an exemplary case.

Cutting through the Limbs of Gentility: The Life of Pedro Afonso

At the age of twenty-five, just before entering the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in Goa in 1557, Pedro Afonso had completed three years of training as a surgeon in Lisbon.[46] In 1575, according to the Jesuit catalogue, he was forty-five years old, had still not been ordained a priest, and possessed only one talent, that of curing the sick (*ad curandum aegrotos*). Compared to other Jesuit careers, Pedro Afonso advanced very little on the professional scale within the Society of Jesus in India. One of the reasons, according to the unanimous judgment of his contemporaries, was his special talent and dexterity in setting broken bones, operating on abscesses, and stitching torn flesh. Allowing this renowned surgeon and pharmacist to become a priest would have put an end to his surgical practice. At the same time, in the second part of the sixteenth century there was a real lack of good, Old Christian surgeons and physicians in Goa.[47] After 1560, with the advance of the inquisitorial "clean-up," New Christian doctors were increasingly feared and suspected of foul play or of planning revenge. Even though the medico-botanical compendium *Colóquios dos Simples e das Drogas he Cousas Medicinais da Índia,* published in 1563 in Goa by one of the most famous New Christian doctors and a (posthumous) victim of the Inquisition, Garcia da Orta, was still consulted in the 1560s, the New Christian doctors were avoided.[48] Orta's pharmaceutical and botanical optimism and his confidence in natural (vegetable and mineral) tropical remedies developed by indigenous medical specialists such as Muslim *hakims* practicing *yunani* medicine and Hindu *ayurvedic vaidyas* were ways of hiding the other, sinister side of his life in India, where as a crypto-Jew he was forced to play an endless game of hide-and-seek with the spirited Portuguese inquisitorial machine.[49]

Although they were contemporaries and both were devoted to medical practice, we have no proof that Pedro Afonso and Garcia da Orta

ever established any kind of professional relationship. Nor is there any trace of correspondence or contact between Pedro Afonso and another Jesuit (and New Christian at that) surgeon, Luís de Almeida. Like many other New Christians, Almeida left Lisbon in 1548 to escape the mounting heat of the persecution of "Judaisers" and to work for his living as a merchant in Portuguese Asia. It appears that it was on the ship that he was caught in the net of the Jesuit "naval mission." There is no reason to doubt that his conversion was not genuine, as his later engagement for the Society in Japan amply proved.[50] After 1552, Almeida reached Japan via Melaka in order to join the Society of Jesus (1556) and set up, and partly financed himself, the first hospital and a medical school (or Namban-ryu's school) for training Japanese surgeons. His 1562 decision to devote his time exclusively to evangelical and mission activities and to become a priest was probably a way of confirming his faith, which might have been questioned. Ordained a priest in 1579 after completing his studies in Macao, he died in Japan in 1583 as a missionary.[51] He most certainly, therefore, traded his medical profession for the proper missionary career. In Jesuit social and cultural geometry, curing bodies was obviously less important than curing souls.

Where a New Christian succeeded, an Old Christian (*cristão antigo*) like Pedro Afonso failed. He remained temporal coadjutor in charge of the Hospital of the Poor Natives until his death in 1578 at the age of forty-five in the College of St. Paul in Goa. His inability to learn Latin grammar during his novitiate years had sealed his career in the Society of Jesus and disqualified him from the priesthood. Another important factor was his excellent performance as a surgeon. It is possible that his superiors decided to "flunk" him in Latin in order to force him to put his other qualifications to good use. Probably still not fully aware of what his scholastic failure entailed, Pedro Afonso wrote an enthusiastic letter at the end of 1560. Besides this autograph preserved in the Society's Roman archives, no other letters of his have ever been recovered, if they were ever written. It is a typically exhortative and propagandist jubilation of the new recruit in expectation of an abundance of marvelous and exciting missionary labors.[52]

He located his growing sense of importance in a daily "white martyrdom" induced by bodily fatigue and the repetition of innumerable tasks. As if moving down the rosary in prayer, Afonso endlessly rushed through the Hospital of the Poor Natives, into the seminary, then to the House of Catechumens and back. At each and every stop, his work was portrayed

as gigantic. During the consultation time for the outdoor patients, who waited for him every day in front of the hospital door, he complained, "from time to time, I run out of paper for writing prescriptions." In addition, given that he was a lay member of the Society and not a professed father, the burden of managing financial transactions, such as the collection of alms for the hospital, was also his responsibility.

Significantly, Afonso went beyond a simple enumeration of his daily labors and pious exhortations. His is, in fact, the clearest statement of what a Jesuit medical mission in India was or should be. The Hospital of the Poor Natives was, in his words, "a fishery of souls" (*pescaria das almas*).

> The procedure and the manner, my dear brothers, by which the Lord brings the souls is the following: first, the native gentiles, when they fall sick of illnesses that they cannot cure and have no more confidence in their gods and sorcerers, they come to take refuge among the flock of the Church because of their ailments and out of necessity.

Among the infirmities he mentioned in his letter, the most prominent were wounds, either inflicted by arms or in attacks by animals or in accidents. Just like Garcia da Orta or Cristóvão da Costa, another New Christian doctor, Afonso agreed that there are also new illnesses, unknown to the "ancient (medical) writers" (*escritores antigos*). To cure these new types of illnesses, he placed his trust firmly in prayer to God and in particular to the Cosmos Santos (Cosma and Damian, physicians and Christian martyrs) to teach him and to provide the remedy. For this reason, all cures began with baptism for those who were in articulo mortis and with confession for the Christians. Hence, all these pious efforts were directed first and foremost toward the salvation of souls.[53] The ailing body, especially the body broken and torn open, was for this Jesuit surgeon nothing more or less than an inscription of gentility and sins. The ultimate cure was, it goes without saying, conversion. In principle if not in practice, this view went against Garcia da Orta's conception of the body as intrinsically permeable. The ultimate cure for Orta was adaptation of one's own humoral dispositions to the climate and the given ecological setting by ingesting local spices and foods. The Galenic, ayurvedic, and yunani systems of medicine all agreed on that.[54]

Food and spices were not neglected in the Hospital of the Poor Natives, but the Jesuit concept of conversion could have hardly privileged the digestive track as its superconductor. Conversion was to happen in the neophyte's heart and was admittedly facilitated by the conversion of the whole family or community. Hence, it was imperative to find the wife or children of each and every man who sought help at the hospital. According to reports, the families and relatives of those who were cured or who died in the hospital were particularly well disposed to accept baptism. In fact, some of the cured and their families could, at least in principle, immediately move from the hospital into the House of Catechumens. In 1560, there were ninety-nine inmates in this institution, and it was Pedro Afonso who was in charge of overlooking the collection of alms for its upkeep. In addition to all these charitable works, Afonso and other Jesuit brothers took care of the sick and battered female slaves and servants who were left at the door of the hospital. He would first confess them, he explained, then put them on a stretcher or a bed (*catre*) and bring them back to their employers or owners who were given the choice of either taking them back and curing them or enfranchising them—in writing.[55] Those who were liberated were left at the Misericórdia, the only institution that provided a hospital for women. Gentile women were first baptized (*feytas cristãas*) and then sent to the Misericórdia.

Day after day, Pedro Afonso was also seen picking up poor, sick soldiers who were left behind or who fell into the ditches along the Mandovi River or along the pathways. But during epidemic outbreaks, the Jesuits faced a dilemma, just as they did in martyrdom in partibus infidelium, between heroic but heedless actions in which they risked their lives and the pragmatic prudence extolled by the Society, which might not be edifying to the public. Torn between these two conflicting ideals, Jesuit decisions and practices often contained a bit of both. Thus, novices were forbidden to participate in aiding epidemic victims, and the superiors had to face a hard task of selecting those who would stay on and those who were to take refuge in some more salubrious place. The decision was hard because, according to the documents, all wanted to sacrifice their lives in pious works.

In 1570, an epidemic disease struck one of the *bairros* (quarters) of Goa. More than nine hundred people were down with the illness, and some three hundred ultimately died, according to a report by the Jesuit Duarte Leitão.[56] The situation was so desperate that the superiors ur-

gently recalled Pedro Afonso from Margão, a small town in the Salsete region to the south of Tiswadi (Tissvadi) Island. The Hospital of the Poor Natives had been relocated there two years earlier.[57] Previously a small hamlet, Margão grew into a center of Jesuit mission activity. A church, a fabrica, and a hospital were erected at the site of a temple or a mosque, according to Francisco de Sousa, and continued to thrive among the recently and imperfectly evangelized rural population.

With Jesuit prudence and pragmatism neatly folded backstage, Leitão's hortatory letter with the description of the pestilential disease was also meant to heighten passion and desire for missionary life in Jesuit members and novices in Portugal. His powerful, pictorially charged narrative and his emotional denouncement of the miserable conditions in which poor Goans lived are still effective. We are transported into the poor shacks and hovels that resembled pigsties and were packed with the diseased. But the centerpiece of this document is, obviously, what Jesuits valued most: a detailed presentation of the emergency procedure organized by the Society. Significantly, it all started with taking a census of the sick in the affected suburbs *(rol dos doentes que avia em cada bairo)*.[58] Then they consulted the mostly gentile doctors who were in charge of these people, before turning to the *físico-mór,* (surgeon general) Dimas Bosque, "a great friend of the [Jesuit] house" (*grande amigo da casa*), who incidentally was a good friend of Garcia da Orta. With no visible abatement of the epidemic, it was decided to call for Pedro Afonso. The efficient and systematic organization of Leitão's report appears to correspond to the Jesuits' public performance in this health emergency.

A kind of scientific explanation of the causes was sought, in spite of the avowed inability to establish any with certainty.

> Different causes are proposed for this disease. The majority said that it was due to corrupted air because an elephant died there and then left to rot in place without removing it, and the foul smells corrupted the air and provoked this pestilential disease (*doença como peste*). In the beginning, it started with fever and then swellings appeared and the sick became yellow and dropsical, and in the end diarrhea killed them in a few days.[59]

At the end of the epidemic and the Jesuit efforts to curb it, and at the end of Leitão's narrative, the story concludes with a surge of the surreal

and divine. As if borrowing another voice, the Jesuit correspondent reassured his audience that the forces from the other world watched carefully over the actions of the puny terrestrial actors and that everyone recognized the touch of sanctification in this whole affair. The people (*povo*) were astonished not only "by our familiarity with the sick, given that the disease was contagious" but also by the fact that none of the Jesuits had fallen ill. "It appeared that this exercise of our Lord redoubled our forces."[60] Doubling, or a strategic "more" ("magis, magis, magis!"), as is well-known, belongs to an almost iconic Ignatian practice, marking an indispensable surplus of desire, a distinguishing badge of the soldiers of Christ clearly inscribed in a particular Jesuit "manner of proceeding."[61]

With hindsight, a century and a half later, Francesco de Sousa situated the epidemic in the larger context of the ecological and social decadence of the capital city of the Estado da Índia.[62] It was one of many contagious epidemics with high mortality following in the wake of the wars, sieges, and famines that regularly punctuated the late sixteenth and the whole seventeenth century. Worst of all, according to this confident and assertive Jesuit apologist, the 1570 epidemic was a straightforward symptom of social malaise and of vitiated ties of solidarity. By combining different reports, including Leitão's, Sousa condemned the social customs in Goa as aberrant, barbaric, against natural law, and against the Bible. The owners abandoned their sick slaves on the streets and thus into the hands of the Jesuits, who nursed them, enfranchised them, baptized them, and buried them. Another proof that social relations were going from bad to worse, according to Sousa, was the disappearance of the Tribunal da Mesa da Consciencia, established in 1570 by the archbishop and by two Jesuit fathers, António de Quadros and Melchior Nunes Barreto: "since it was about conscience, it could not have lasted in India where the conscience is more easily broken than stomachs."[63]

On the Missionary and Medical Frontier

The consciences that were destroyed in (or by) India were Portuguese.[64] No one expected the gentiles to possess conscience since it was closely connected with grace. Grace, it was believed, was not granted to non-

Christians. If grace was also a divine and ultimate elixir in the Christian pharmacopoeia, it is interesting to consider the status of local medical practice in Goa. In the first part of the sixteenth century, indigenous cures and remedies were widely used and adopted by the Portuguese and were generally considered efficient. So were local, non-Christian doctors of various types, from the learned *panditos* (pandits) and *vaidyas* (physicians) to low-caste *curandeiros* (healers), *herbolários,* (herborists) and downright witch doctors. Local midwives (*dais*) were and continued to be important for women.

However, while Garcia da Orta canonized locally grown and locally prepared medication and approved many of the medical practices found in India, in the second half of the sixteenth century the Portuguese administration began an official, if inefficient and halfhearted, persecution of non-Christian doctors in the city of Goa. What the administration denounced in a royal order published in 1563 was the use of "superstitious ceremonies" as an integral part of curing.[65] The first church council of Goa, held in 1567, prohibited using the services of non-Christian doctors to cure Christians.[66] The third (1585) and fourth church councils (1592) restated the interdiction but in their turn insisted on the mandatory confession of patients before any kind of cure was implemented.[67] All these prohibitions clearly show that non-Christian physicians were present in Goa and continued to be employed by the Christians. And behind all this, in the shadow of the Inquisition, it was New Christian doctors, much more than vaidyas, who were suspected of demonic practices and intentions.[68]

Non-Christians were therefore fatally lacking grace, free will, and—as was often repeated—charity. In another letter written a year later from Cochin, Cristóvão Leitão restated this in a few words. The contagious disease in question was smallpox (*bexigas*), "some kind of pestilence from which many people die": "The gentiles were very surprised to see the charity with which we entered the houses of those who had smallpox, because among them it is like a plague and the father leaves his son and they do not dare touch the diseased."[69]

The complaint about lack of charity was a commonplace repeated in Europe as well, especially during epidemics. Caring for the sick, and surviving, was one of the difficult challenges for the Jesuits. One had to disguise prudence as daring and daring as prudence. Among the non-Christians, and far from the Portuguese colonial towns and enclaves, Jesuit missionaries often had no other choice but to wait out the end of

the virulence. Luís de Gouvea wrote a stunning and detailed description of the 1563 general smallpox epidemic from Coulano (Kollam or Quilon) to Cape Comorin. If the Jesuits worked with selfless devotion among the dying, it was because "during this illness, the natives, Christian and gentile, do not respect each other; a father's, son's, or a mother's love is not enough to make them nurse each other."[70] His vivid depiction of the illness, whose cause was attributed to the worm (*bicho*) that eats out the faces and the flesh of the sick and provokes putrid odors, reinforced Gouvea's indignation at uncharitable and pagan local customs. Hence there was one more reason for the Jesuits to target souls rather than bodies. Besides cleaning the beds and cooking *camja* (*canji*), a boiled rice soup, the Jesuits in fact spent most of their time confessing and baptizing. The farther into the distant mission territory, the less one finds Jesuit missionaries employed in the hospitals. On the Fishery Coast in the mission among the Parava fishermen, the Hospital of the Poor Natives was praised as a wondrous thing, "never seen before." Soon, however, it was relinquished to local Christians. Throughout the sixteenth century, various hospital-like institutions were set up along the coast. In them the doctors were also chosen from among the converts: either ayurvedic or *siddha* specialists.[71] They were probably also instructed in some rudiments of European medical ideas.

On the other hand, it is evident from Jesuit letters that indigenous remedies were taken very seriously at times, to the point of suspecting intentional poisoning. A measure of trust was indispensable as well and easily led to the first adaptationist efforts and results, in the ecological and medical sense, not in the theological and technical senses that developed later and elsewhere.[72] There is a relatively famous and slightly amusing case with a predictable denouement.[73] In 1561, Henrique Henriques asked for permission to try out local medicine (mezinha) used by jogues because it was reputed to fortify the body, without mortification, against the "appetite coming from sensuality."[74] The then-general of the Society of Jesus, Diogo Laínez, responded a year later from Trent, where he was participating in the closing sessions of the church council, without offering any decision and leaving the whole matter in the hands of the Jesuit provincial in India.[75] With the election of Francisco de Borja to the office of general (1565–72), and with the tightening of the post-Tridentine religious environment, using pagan medicine became unimaginable. He stiffly ordered António de Quadros, the provincial in Goa, to leave "the medicine for chastity" to the "bonjes" (bonzes).[76]

What the metropolitan injunction implicitly prohibited was any kind of commensurability between a Jesuit body and that of a pagan religious specialist. Controlling one's sexual impulses was (and Borja had in mind just that) the result of choice, will, and grace, at least for those who sought membership in the Society of Jesus. More often than not, however, lofty ideals and highbrow orthodoxy ran aground or had to be reformulated in the overseas missions in Asia. From his continental mission in Madurai, Roberto Nobili's accommodatio was an extreme but theologically articulate reformulation of the meaning of conversion. Although his dispute with Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso and other Jesuits highlighted the conflicting opinions and made Nobili's views look exceptional, on the ground, especially in the region that would become the (Jesuit) Malabar province after 1601, adjustments and adaptations were slowly assimilating Christianity to local religious practices, and vice versa. One of the general tendencies, in fact, was to allow many of the formerly "pagan" practices as soon as their practitioners had converted to Christianity. Nobili would later define these as civil or political customs, as opposed to religious customs, which had to be discontinued.[77]

Medical specialists were therefore welcomed into the fold, with one significant change. They had to strip their healing techniques of all "superstitious" pronouncements (*mantras*) and rituals. It would be misleading to believe that this clear-cut division between the tasks of a priest and the tasks of a doctor was applied to the letter in Indian missions. Moreover, many converted doctors readily and willingly adopted Christian rituals, sacramentals, and sacred objects in their thaumaturgic techniques. They recited prayers over the bodies of the sick, sprinkled them with holy water, pressed relics on their wounds, and made the sign of the cross before entering the patient's room. According to Jesuit letters, some of the pagan doctors even admitted that these and similar Christian objects and prayers contained a powerful force against illnesses.[78]

In the modern period, long before Pasteur and the microbiological revolution, therapeutic strategies were mostly rooted in rituals performed within the family and in a given community.[79] The Galenic, humoral medical system was internally consistent, but far from therapeutically efficient.[80] Strict diets, astrological calculations, and psychological comfort based on the patient's trust (that he was being cured by the specialist) might have been successful to a certain degree. Even Garcia da Orta allowed as much by stating lucidly that his reputation as a good doctor

was based on the fact that people trusted him. Surgery, on the other hand, a less prestigious branch of medicine considered merely an *ars* (and not a *sciencia*) and conferring on its practitioners the status of artisans, had nothing to do with trust but with dexterity and knowledge of the right procedure.[81]

Pedro Afonso, according to Francisco de Sousa, possessed "a special grace in the touch of his fingers."[82] In addition, the results of surgical intervention were much more rapidly established; as Michel de Montaigne said, "there is less to conjecture and guess."[83] It was probably Afonso's natural gift and his desire for mission, combined with the Jesuit territorial expansion into the region of Salsete, that led to the decision to transfer the Hospital of the Poor Natives to Margão in 1568.[84] Healing services had already stimulated the growth of the Christian community in the city of Goa and the surrounding area. Medical miracles and conversions spread like wildfire throughout the neighboring islands, some of them reputed for their staunch Brahmanic way of life and worship. Undermining faith in local ritual specialists who provided their expertise in all life-crisis moments, illnesses included, was the surest way of facilitating conversion. One of the most talented Jesuit writers, Luís Fróis, who had spent some time in Goa in his youth, described a number of these felicitous (from the Jesuit point of view) and dramatic religious "migrations." For example, he told the story of a Brahman from the island of Divar who had wasted a large sum of money on gentile doctors in trying to cure his son. When all appeared lost, he offered the son to Our Lady of Piety (Nossa Senhora da Piedade), at that time just a small chapel built on the top of the hill.[85] Consequently, the child was cured, and the whole family converted to Christianity.[86] Stories like this, without the mention of individual names and repeated almost verbatim on different occasions and in different locations, filled the pages of Jesuit correspondence. Locally, they constituted or were added to the founding stories of particular shrines and churches.

The spiritual conquest of the islands of Divar and Chorão in the immediate vicinity of the city of Goa had been a far easier matter than pacifying the frontier region of Salsete to the south. This rural area interspersed with settlements and Hindu temples long remained a buffer zone between the Portuguese administration and the territory of the king of Bijapur. The chronic lack of sufficient numbers of Portuguese soldiers, administrators, and missionaries resulted in longer and somewhat different histories of evangelization. Even when the conversion of

Salsete was completed, sporadic rebellions and excesses of violence on both sides continued until well into the nineteenth century.[87]

In 1568, when Pedro Afonso took up his duties in the Hospital of the Poor Natives next to the recently (1565) consecrated Church of the Holy Spirit (Espirito Santo) in Margão, it was to heal the trauma inflicted by the spree of temple (pagoda) destruction in Salsete, which had been initiated in 1564. Francisco de Sousa triumphantly described the way the choice of the church site was decided, almost as a rule, near to or in place of a temple. The Church of the Holy Spirit was chosen by the first archbishop of Goa, Dom Gaspar Leão Pereira, who "came in front of the temple and planted the arrow on the ground and with it transpierced the hearts of the gentiles" (fig. 17).[88] Whether or not the Holy Spirit inspired him, as Sousa would like us to believe, he certainly chose the holiest of sites, cherished and venerated by the Brahmans and the other honorable caste of *ganvkars*.[89] Afonso's hospital became a thaumaturgic infrastructure in which the only physical violence inflicted was by the hands of a surgeon. In any case, as Sebastião Fernandes reported to Francisco de Borja in 1569, the gentiles were attracted to the hospital "in search of health for their soul with which God also gives them [health] of the body."[90] One can imagine that many people died in the hospital, but nobody left it sick in a spiritual sense. In Sousa's palimpsest phrasing, under which one can almost hear Loyola's famous precept, "when a gentile entered through the door of the Hospital, he came out cured (*convalecido*) by Baptism, spreading in the whole region the prodigious effects of Pedro Afonso's unique charity."[91]

The reputation of the hospital grew, and it was generally considered an exceptional success. In spite of the raids and menace of the Bijapur army in 1570–71, and the Hindus' renewed political efforts until 1577 to reverse the effects of the evangelization of Salsete, conversion to Christianity was gaining momentum and, by 1575, the number of Christians was close to eight thousand.[92] According to Gomez Vaz, writing in 1576, "this hospital is venerated so much by them that even gentiles and infidels say that it is the house of God . . . and this house serves not only for the refuge of the sick and poor, but also as a bait for making many Christians."[93]

Two years later, this special reputation of the hospital among the non-Christians was indirectly but eloquently confirmed. When the army of Bijapur invaded Salsete, all the churches were destroyed, including

the Church of the Holy Spirit, but not the hospital, which was recognized by all as a "heavenly house."[94]

Hand or Spirit: The Jesuit Medical Dilemma

In spite of eulogies on behalf of his dedication, not only did Pedro Afonso's status remain low within the Society but his surgical practice was also raised as a problem by Alessandro Valignano, who came to India in 1574. As soon as this zealous, meticulous, and dogged Italian came to Goa as a "visitor" and at the head of the largest Jesuit contingent of some forty people, he set about to clarify the legal structure of all Jesuit possessions, endowments, and institutions. His doctorate in canon law from the University of Padua, earned in 1557 when he was nineteen, certainly helped him cut through various jurisdictional muddles in which the Society of Jesus in India had necessarily become involved. Although he also suggested various ways of adapting the laws of the Society, that is, the *Constitutions,* to particular local circumstances, in one of his first long letters from Goa he rightly pinpointed the problem of Pedro Afonso's profession. Even if there were Jesuit doctors in Rome, like Bartolomé Torres, who set up a pharmacy-cum-infirmary in Rome in 1555, the interdiction by canon law could not be overlooked.[95] As for Pedro Afonso, although he had not been ordained, he was a member of the Society of Jesus, and in Valignano's opinion, it was particularly the manual part of the profession that was a bone of contention and especially doubtful.

> The Brother [Pedro Afonso] cures wounds and lets blood, and all in all does all the things done by the surgeons because there are no other surgeons to do them. Although this work is very necessary, I am not sure that it is proper, moreover, to continue to cure with his own hands.[96]

Direct intervention in the bodies of the diseased, in his view, should be left to lay persons and, in the case of the hospital in Salsete, to the natives. The division between spiritual and temporal tasks was not so easy to disentangle, even for this experienced administrator who, in addition, held Indians in low esteem. "These people are so flaccid," he wrote two years later from Chorão, that even if one wanted to pass on to them the temporal charge of the hospital, they were not yet ready.[97]

A certain disregard for the hospital in Salsete, for the Indian converts, and for the Jesuit surgeon who was not even a priest can be detected in Valignano's swift and inconclusive treatment of this issue. If Pedro Afonso remained content, or rather silent, about his opinion, another doctor with an exaggerated sense of his own worth, as his contemporaries all agreed, was more than vocal about the underdog status of the Jesuit medical practitioners in Goa.

Giovanni Battista de Loffreda was one of the forty-one Jesuits who came to India with Valignano in 1574.[98] He appeared to have been a much-awaited member since not only did Valignano have him on the first list of those selected for India but he was also the last to join the expedition just before the ships sailed from Lisbon.[99] The visitor's first evaluation of de Loffreda was that he "looks like a very good religious man," and it was probably because of his medical training that he had been assigned to the captain's ship, the *Constantina*.[100] According to the *Catalogue of the Fathers and Brothers of the Society of Jesus Who Were Sent to the East Indies in 1574*, written by Valignano, de Loffreda was an Italian from Nola, a town belonging to the Jesuit province of Naples, where he studied at the Jesuit college and finished the first year of theology. Technically he was a scholastic, although he had already earned a medical degree before joining the Society. The only curious detail on the list of his characteristics is that he was described as being "in perfect health."[101] Since it would be unrealistic to accuse Valignano of an intentional lie, one could attribute this statement to ignorance. But then it is equally astonishing that there is no mention of the state of health of other Jesuits on the list. In fact, Valignano himself seemed to have been weak and ailing because of his unhealthy eating habits. This is what Giulio Piani from Macerata reported to Everard Mercurian, the general of the Society of Jesus (1573–80), in a letter from Mozambique in 1574. As an authority on Valignano's bodily disposition, he quoted de Loffreda as saying that the fever from which Valignano suffered during the journey was the result of his abstinence from food. He ate some biscuits, some raisins, some olives, and "rarely any ham" (*presutto*).[102] Although Piani extolled Valignano as a person of divine inspiration in the same letter, the mention of his excessive mortification was an indirect criticism of his behavior. The *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus very strongly denounced any self-abnegation that led to bodily harm.[103] In fact, it was because Valignano ultimately obeyed de Loffreda's prescription to eat more regularly that he felt better.[104] Once in Goa, de

Loffreda would be even more demanding, both in terms of food and in terms of prestige and status.

In his maritime passage-cum-separation letter written from Mozambique, Valignano told a different story, with a tinge of providential luck between the lines. Not only did the crossing of the equator and the Cape of Good Hope go perfectly smoothly, so that everybody "thanked God and marveled at this journey," except for minor and brief indispositions, all the Jesuits were in good health.[105] In the cases of Piani, de Loffreda, and Valignano, the truth must have been somewhere in the middle. By the time Valignano arrived in Goa in November of 1574, recovered his strength, and wrote his first extensive report on the state of the Indian province, de Loffreda had already fallen afoul of the visitor. Thus, while Valignano described in detail the hardships the Jesuits experienced in the College of St. Paul due to its unhealthy "airs" and the epidemic that decimated their ranks shortly upon the arrival of his expedition, he finally revealed de Loffreda's major ailment and bitterly complained about the decision to send such a novice to India:

> They have sent to me a Brother from Naples who is almost completely deaf and a novice with so little ability. Even if he weren't deaf, he wouldn't have been able to serve in these regions. Surely, Father [General], I do not know how with good conscience the Provincials can send to these parts, so exigent and in need of workers (*necessitate e bisognose d'operarii*) whose virtue and goodness has already been tested, these scandalous and useless subjects [António Velês, a psychologically deranged Portuguese Jesuit, was also included] is a thing of great scandal and great cost and keeping them is laborious and a major scandal.[106]

However, among the "useless subjects" sailing back to Portugal a few months later in 1575, we find António Velês, but not de Loffreda, who was enrolled as a theology student in the College of St. Paul in Goa. He was given another chance for the simple reason that he proved to be a talented doctor after all. The catalogue of 1575 found him in "perfect health," of "good" judgment and temperament, and of "good, mediocre" talent.[107] A year later, de Loffreda was still a theology student.[108] But in the early days of January 1577, the first signs of the trouble to come appeared in Valignano's letter to Mercurian, in which he wholeheartedly requested papal dispensation so that de Loffreda would be able to exercise his profession among the Jesuits and some chosen out-

siders (*forasteros*).[109] One reason this dispensation was important was that there were very few doctors in Goa, and most of them were ignorant. "And what is worse," he wrote, "they are all New Christians, and the only Old Christian, old and learned, died last year."[110] The second reason, and the most controversial as it would turn out, was that de Loffreda was to be ordained in a little while, after finishing the third year of theology, and that he was by far the best doctor among all those in India. And finally, according to Valignano, the Neapolitan was completely deaf, and there was not much else that he could usefully do in India.

Without doubt de Loffreda disagreed through and through with Valignano's last statement. There were things in India that he wanted to do and thought himself quite capable of doing, and not just curing Jesuits in Goa. To his dismay, a few months later a general dispensation by Gregory XIII arrived, not specifically for de Loffreda but for all Jesuit doctors.[111] We can only guess what his reaction was from Valignano's saccharine report, in which all the contradictions are rhetorically contained in a series of disjunctive sentences. Thus, de Loffreda was a good man with good desires who gave much help through his medical office. But he was also completely deaf and lacked prudence "and because of this does not understand what he demands, but he is an obedient man and lives consoled."[112]

Unruly Missionary Desires

Beyond Goa and his medical profession, de Loffreda's "good desire" soon became his superiors' nightmare. What he really wanted was a more dramatic and heroic role in life, such as becoming a missionary hero and being sent to convert Indian kings. The occasion presented itself in September 1579, when an embassy from the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556–1605) arrived in Goa inviting to his court in Fatehpur Sikri "two learned priests who should bring with them the chief books of Law and the Gospel."[113] Two months later, Rodolfo Acquaviva and Antonio Monserrate were chosen from among the Jesuits; added to the mission was a Persian interpreter and a convert from Islam, Francisco Henriques from Ormuz. This would be the first of the three basically unsuccessful Jesuit missions sent to Akbar.[114]

In more than one way de Loffreda's ambitions and high expectations were thwarted. By November 1579, he was neither on his way to

Fatehpur Sikri nor an ordained priest. Ruy Vicente, the provincial, decided—against Valignano's recommendation—not to ordain him because "after an illness he was left so deaf that he does not hear anything unless they cry out into his ear, and it is proven that he does not hear the Mass."[115] Should his hearing improve, wrote Vicente to Mercurian on November 13, 1579, he might still be ordained. In the meantime, his services as a doctor were much appreciated in the hospital. The reaction by de Loffreda was loud and furious. Francesco Pasio, a future missionary in China and Japan, was of the opinion that, although de Loffreda's forceful demand to be ordained (*per volere essere ordinato per forza*) would have been a serious mistake by anybody else and deserving of harsh punishment, it was not in the case of de Loffreda, who was "by nature not in his right mind." It also appeared that he started an epistolary campaign in Rome, but very few of these letters have survived to this day.[116] This is why the provincial felt impelled to write another short and less sympathetic letter on November 17, 1579, as a cover letter to an envelope containing de Loffreda's complaints and appeals to the general.[117] Here de Loffreda is portrayed as a complete nut case suffering from delusions about himself and a wild imagination. But worst of all, according to Ruy Vicente, he thought so highly of himself that he had no other goal but "to convert the king [Akbar]" and "preach to the gentiles."[118] In a word, he was making trouble for the provincial and even for those who were sent on a mission to Akbar and "did not show anything but lack of reason." That a newcomer like Rodolfo Acquaviva, who arrived in Goa at the same time as Akbar's embassy, should be given such a plum missionary job and jump the line in which de Loffreda thought he was patiently waiting was an insult to the otherwise locally pampered physician. The son of the Duke of Atri in Abruzzi, the nephew of the future general Claudio Acquaviva, and himself an important future martyr, Father Rodolfo was considered the most perfect candidate to hobnob with Mughal aristocracy and, in the typical Jesuit manner of proceeding, bring them "out of themselves" and into the "net of Christianity." A few decades later, Roberto Nobili, with a similar aristocratic pedigree, would be sent to the Nayak of Madurai for the same reason, and another rank-and-file, roturier Jesuit missionary would react furiously against him.

In spite of all the harsh words spelled out loudly and directly against de Loffreda, he was ordained in 1580, and the archbishop of Goa, a Dominican, Dom Frey Henrique de Távora e Brito (1578–81), took

him under his wing and pushed through his demand for priesthood.[119] And so Ruy Vicente wrote to the general with a sigh of relief in January 1581, "he is being consoled."[120] Well, perhaps. But he was not eager to go back to his secular profession. He seemed to be prancing around and voicing opinions but not actually curing, except, as Nuno Rodrigues informed Mercurian, a captain or two or some notable persons such as a viceroy or archbishop or inquisitor, but even this he did rarely. Nor did he work long, just a few months replacing a physician in the Royal Hospital, the charge of which had recently been given to the Jesuits.[121] But de Loffreda was not the only one to despise this sort of temporal occupation. Francesco Pasio felt "repugnance and disgust" toward ministry in the hospital, to which he had been assigned by the provincial, and was also not happy to share his space in the house (the College of St. Paul) with some three hundred other souls, from the orphan boys and servants to other Jesuits. Aversion to these and similar offices made him leave Rome, but he said he remained resigned and in perfect obedience.[122] Not de Loffreda; he fought back and won—the passage out of India.

The plot of the story thickened and came to a denouement by the end of 1581. With slight variations in opinion and literary details, Jesuit letters vividly present de Loffreda's last acts as Jesuit. With a certain official detachment, Ruy Vicente, who dismissed him and sent him back to Lisbon, disclosed in short lines in two separate letters some of his "unreasonable" follies. First, it seems that de Loffreda was involved in a murky financial scandal. He had collected some four hundred *pardãos* for the dowry of his "poor" sister in Italy as payment for his professional services to a Portuguese fidalgo.[123] Such behavior, of course, went directly against the Jesuit "manner of proceeding." And that was not all. He "ran away from the Society and went to the Muslim country," that is, crossed to the other side of the Mandovi River.[124] He demanded a special certificate of dismissal, which in order to calm him down and bring him back, and because the provincial feared danger "to his faith and his body," was accorded but on the condition that he stay in Chorão, which was practically a Jesuit possession, before leaving for Portugal. This he refused to do, returning to Goa under the viceroy's protection. "He goes around the city slandering myself and the Society, and carried away by greed, begs alms like a helpless person."

Alberto Laerzio, a young and ambitious Italian who came to India in 1579 and was to have a long and rich career as a Jesuit missionary,

wrote a more detailed letter. It was an excess of desire "to convert the world," he wrote, combined with lack of sane judgment that made de Loffreda restless and difficult.[125] He showered the previous general, Mercurian, with letters pleading to be ordained, and he would scream and shout insults at his superiors in the middle of the college, for all to hear. At one point Francesco Pasio and Rodolfo Acquaviva put him in a room with chains attached to his feet, and thus humiliated, "they left him to live as in olden times." A new problem arose when he was finally ordained because he then demanded to preach, which did not work out quite so well due to his hearing impairment, his poor Portuguese, and his lack of good sense. Moreover, once a priest, his self-esteem grew, and he repeated to everybody that he was one of the best-qualified persons in the college, "a physician, a theologian, etc.," and insisted on having special treatment and privileges. Thus, if not happy with the food, which he ate avidly and in large quantities, he would "throw on the floor the meat, the plates and everything that was on the table." Finally, before the brothers, fathers, and novices, he shouted during the recreation hour that "the superiors wanted to kill him and that this Society of ours is not the Society of Jesus but of tyranny, and similar things in this manner."

Again, he finished behind bars after receiving penitence (flagellation) in the refectory. But when three days later he was asked to visit a sick gentleman, he refused, saying that if they did not want to give him what he wanted, he would also not do what they wanted. So he was locked up one more time. When his efforts to escape proved to be in vain, he stood at the window and screamed out at night so that the whole town could hear him: "Gentlemen of this town, help me, I am locked up and they want to kill me." Horrified by this scene, continued Laerzio, the Jesuits were obliged to forcibly gag him and keep him in a room away from the street, lest the seculars hear his noise. The next day he was disciplined, that is, flagellated once again, and was calm for a few days.

Laerzio then told of de Loffreda's flight from the college to "Muslim country" and his eventual return to Goa, where he proceeded to make disparaging remarks about the Society, all the while "feigning in his hypocrisy and in his exterior image a saint, so that anybody who did not know him could have been deceived." The reason the Jesuits in Goa tolerated all his whims for so long, concluded Laerzio, was that there were very few physicians in Goa, and almost none were good.

The Jesuit Medical Resolution: Physicians of the Soul or Physicians of the Body?

Francesco Pasio's letter, besides being in agreement with Laerzio's on most points, threw light on other interesting details.[126] Regarding the financial deal de Loffreda had struck with a rich fidalgo whom he had cured, we learn that the money was first given to the provincial, who refused it, and only then did de Loffreda secretly contact another, anonymous physician to send the money to Lorenzo Strozzi, an Italian merchant. In fact, added Pasio, de Loffreda instructed this secular physician to keep half of the wages earned from rich patients for the marriage arrangements of his poor, orphaned sister. Such monetary temptations must have been due to the extreme penury of the physicians in Goa. According to Pasio, there was only one physician, plus two surgeons who were experienced enough to cure like physicians (*fisici*). All of them New Christians and called *amazasani,* they were disliked and distrusted by the Portuguese *gentiliuomini* since some of the New Christian physicians had already confessed to poisoning a viceroy and a few captains. He was most certainly referring to the confessions exacted by the Inquisition, which, on December 4, 1580, had already burned to ashes the bones of the most famous Goan doctor, Garcia da Orta, who had died twelve years earlier.[127]

From the early 1560s on, official and discriminatory, ecclesiastical and secular orders and decrees had swept away not only New Christian physicians but all non-Christian physicians, either to the other, "Muslim" side or into semi-illegality. What this meant was that the Christian patients, mostly of Portuguese or mestiço origin, were left without sufficient physicians. More importantly, perhaps, these compulsory measures seemed to have damaged the confidence that bound patients to doctors, as the Hippocratic/Galenic system advocated. Not, however, for everyone and not at all times. In 1574, Governor António Moniz Barreto forbade the native physicians to use horses, biers, and palanquins as means of transportation.[128] In 1585, the third provincial ecclesiastical council of Goa requested the viceroy decide on "the quota of a certain number of infidel doctors, as many as it seems necessary to cure the country, only if there are not enough believers [doctors], and those should not cure without the permission."[129]

It is quite possible that, after the widespread alarm the Inquisition spread about crypto-Jews, the Christian inhabitants of Goa preferred

the local medical specialists, the vaidyas and panditos, and even those commonly called *feitiçeiros* (the sorcerers), to New Christians. Thus, even a governor, Manuel de Sousa Coutinho (1588–91), his wife, Dona Ana Espanholim, and his son Hierónimo de Sousa caught the eye of the inquisitor with their habit of consulting "idols on the continent" (*consultar pagodas à terra firme*) and "dealing mystically with the gentile sorcerers."[130] That the gentile physicians were present was confirmed by the decrees of the fourth and fifth (and last) provincial ecclesiastical councils, held in Goa in 1592 and 1606, respectively. They prescribed penalties for physicians, gentile or Christian, who did not advise their patients to confess to the priests, the "soul doctors" (*médicos das almas*), before beginning treatment.[131]

It was a physician of the souls, médico das almas, that Giovanni Battista de Loffreda wanted to be, and not just a simple *físico*. He complained in his only preserved letter that as a physician he was treated as "neither religious nor secular."[132]

According to Ruy Vicente, Francesco Pasio, and Alberto Laerzio, it was impossible for de Loffreda to be a médico das almas because he simply did not qualify. The specific healing technique of the Jesuits was the Word, pronounced anywhere, but mostly in the form of a sermon. The Word could be pronounced in any language and in any way, in "half Portuguese and half black," as Xavier preached in Goa, or in unbearably wrongly pronounced Tamil, as he did among the Paravas on the Fishery Coast, but a deaf Jesuit missionary obviously did not have the capacity to learn even such incorrect language. Worst of all, de Loffreda lacked the capacity to listen, in both the literal and the metaphorical sense. According to Pasio, he was not mad (*pazzo*). But he was a person "blinded by passions," and these were the "causes of his illness," which made him hold "the highest opinion of himself and [gave him] a desire for honor."[133] In Galenic humoral theory, affects or passions were humors of the soul, and any excess of one or the other humor resulted in illness. Because de Loffreda was engulfed by choler or bile, the only prescription was corporal pain induced by flagellation, according to the letters. The introduction to the system of triennial catalogues confirms the utmost importance of the need to evaluate and know the psychological makeup of each and every member of the Society and that the case of de Loffreda is a proof of this is confirmed.[134] Hence, from 1580 on, each provincial was to produce every third year a catalogue in three volumes. One with the names and offices of the members, from professed

fathers to novices, with numbers assigned in the same order. These numbers were important in order to understand the second catalogue, often called the secret catalogue, reporting on the natural and humoral constitutions (*complexio naturale*) of the individual members, as evaluated by the provincial. Jesuit psychological dispositions or temperaments were usually expressed in terms of the Galenic quadripartite humoral scheme: phlegmatic, choleric, bilious, and sanguine. At times, two humors could be combined, and for novices a simple *hilaris* (cheerful) said it all.

Monitoring the fluids of the souls of the members and candidates and inscribing them in the catalogues was a way of preventing disasters such as de Loffreda and, perhaps, of devising ways of curing them through discipline. But more importantly, it was part and parcel of the "personnel politics," as a historian of the Jesuit missions in Brazil succinctly diagnosed.[135]

It may be that the lesson learned from de Loffreda's case was also that highly educated physicians, not simple surgeons, were difficult to integrate in the Society's hierarchical structure. Failure to meet their expectations of high status, at least that of spiritual coadjutor, in spite of papal dispensation allowing them to practice medicine, was likely to cause discontent and commotion, ending in their dismissal from the Society. Briefly, de Loffreda gave the Jesuit superiors food for thought as to the utility of sending to the Indian missions reputed physicians whose promotion within the Society might be hindered precisely because of their efficiency. The lesson must have been well taken and, ever since that time, mostly lower-rank medical practitioners, including pharmacists—that is, those who were content with the status of temporal coadjutors—figured in the catalogues of the Goan and later Malabar provinces.

Just as the de Loffreda affair was being played out, both in Jesuit private *couloirs* and outside among the seculars, a new type of Jesuit medical program and engagement was taking shape. It can be called *medical administration,* and the Jesuits, with a rich and established competency in devising regulations and constitutions, proved to be unsurpassable at it.

The Whole World Is a Hospital

More than living by the rules, the Jesuits excelled in creating them. Retrospectively, we see their obsession with rules and regulations as a

question of efficiency—how to make institutions made up of numerous individuals run smoothly. First of all, their own. Loyola made a point, which is also a prescription, about connecting the Jesuit social body, with members scattered through four continents, "to the head," that is, to the general and, by delegation, to the superiors. He also referred to it as a "union of hearts," but it is no horizontal brotherhood or some sort of communitas movement in Victor Turner's sense. Even if, in the early years, Ignatius of Loyola and the first founding fathers created among themselves relations similar to kinship, spontaneous individual enthusiasm and ambition were soon canalized into a "soft" but irrevocable hierarchy of grades and offices. "The more the subjects are dependent upon their superiors, the better will the love, obedience, and union among them be preserved."[136] And while individual members were and always would be impossible to control, the Jesuits, with Loyola setting the tone and the pace in the *Constitutions,* chose to regulate the whole world—as Jerome Nadal expressed it, having in mind the projected global missionary activity.[137]

In Goa, the Jesuits did excellent work in the Royal Hospital, basically keeping temporal and spiritual hygiene and order in this institution, whose funds had been squandered and pilfered, according to rumors, by everyone from the highest official in charge of it (the mordomo) to the washerman. From 1578, the Jesuits intensified their "help" because of the growing number of diseased, and when some three hundred died in the Royal Hospital for lack of care, the viceroy ordered the Society of Jesus to take full charge of it.[138] It is quite certain that this additional responsibility put some strain on the members, and some, like de Loffreda and even Pasio to a certain extent, loudly expressed their discontent.[139] Ruy Vicente was aware of this, but it was never easy and would have been against the Jesuit manner of proceeding to disobey the viceroy. On the other hand, since the administration of a hospital was "not convenient" for the Society, he had to justify his decision in Goa in a letter to the general. "I decided to accept it *ad tempus* (for the time being) and to help in such a great need."[140]

However, what looked like a temporary service lasted, intermittently, a century and a half. The Royal Hospital became the most important "medical mission" in Goa. Nourished by suffering and death, it grew in size, importance, and reputation through a series of Regimentos (regulations), the most comprehensive of which the Jesuits composed in 1584.[141] The reason the Jesuits wrote such a detailed Regi-

mento was their decision to relinquish the hospital in favor of the Misericórdia. By 1591, they were practically forced to take charge of the administration again. The Regimento of 1584 was responsible for structuring and encoding the internal organization of the hospital to promote efficiency, security, and trust; that is, the hospital became an independent fortress of medical mystique, an extraterritorial space with almost a sui generis jurisdiction. Or at least that was the Jesuit point of view. Thus, the art of curing became the art of managing the patients. Two basic principles underscored the social conditions of healing, according to the Regimento: (1) the smooth repetitiveness of medical or paramedical gestures inscribed in time (every morning, every day, every week, every year) and (2) a strict division of tasks and offices among the hospital personnel. Since health was associated with order, illness was disorder. Hence, and paradoxically, the hospital appears to be the only healthy place, or a place of reformation and, literally, the expurgation of sinful fluids.

Premised on the "fact" that God was the primary cause of illness and that penitence was a primary remedy, a view shared by Christians of all denominations, the Jesuits' optimistic conception of divine providence allowed for the full use of secondary remedies provided by the physicians, surgeons, and pharmacists.[142] Following Galenic therapeutic prescriptions in the Royal Hospital under Jesuit administration, the food was specially selected and cooked according to the accepted dietetic canons, and physical and mental moderation and hygiene were rigorously applied. There is also evidence that new remedies coming from China or other parts of the world received due attention from the Jesuits in Goa and were often tested on the patients.[143] But most successful was their "cure of the souls" through confession and the sacraments, diligently distributed to the diseased. Be it a preparation for death or lending a compassionate ear to lamentations, it was the ministry of the Word that worked miracles in the Royal Hospital from which, according to the contemporary popular adage, nobody came out alive anyway. In the salutary geometry of the Jesuits, sin and illness, health and conversion were inscribed in a mystic circle, but in the gray space of drawing errors there was room for both pharmacological and social experimentation.

The scandal around Giovanni Battista de Loffreda was a lesson to the Jesuit superiors in Goa and in Rome. In spite of papal dispensation to the Jesuit missionary physicians, curing with one's own hands, as

Pedro Afonso did, proved to be a dead end for a number of reasons. First of all, recruiting doctors and surgeons meant that they were not recruited young enough to be molded into obedient Jesuit subjects. Those who, like de Loffreda, completed their medical doctorate were not likely candidates for the lower grades within the Society, which were considered menial. At first sight, these were merely technical and pragmatic problems to be solved locally. Nevertheless, reports of similar incidents were trickling into the Jesuit Curia in Rome from all over the world. The social cohesion within the Society, which numbered some five thousand members of different "nationalities" employed at the most varied tasks, seemed to be on the verge of fissuring and collapsing. When Claudio Acquaviva became general in 1581, he immediately started what Michel de Certeau defined as "the interior reform" of the Society. In his first official circular letter to all members, he proclaimed as his reforming program the return to Ignatian spirituality, which was in danger of exhausting itself through professionalization, geographical expansion, and, in Certeau's words, effusion toward the exterior. The formula for regeneration was simple: the principle of obedience should be based on mutual love among the members. "The superiors should not be content with being obeyed, . . . they have to be fathers, mothers . . . and doctors, . . . so that they are more loved than feared."[144]

The maintenance of healthy relations within the Society and consequently with the world is articulated as the highest spiritual endeavor, the proverbial "spirituality in action," and a proper Jesuit scheme of redemption. But love required ever-growing regulation.[145]

The result of such a view was the multiplication of laws and prescriptions within the Society of Jesus. Claudio Acquaviva's various writings contributed a great deal to establishing a common spiritual and legitimate language among the members. Anchored within a carefully constructed interior nourished by appropriate literature and spiritual exercises, for which Acquaviva wrote special instructions, the Jesuit exterior was intended to be a uniform baroque facade speaking all post-Babelian languages and curing the tormented souls of the fatally diversified and divided mundus. Hence, the most important medical literature written by Jesuits, such as Antonio Possevino's pamphlet *Cause et rimedii della peste, et d'altre infermità* and Acquaviva's *Industiae pro superioribus ejusdem societati ad curandos animae morbos,* transport illness into the realm of demonic dreamwork.[146]

The only way of breaking away from disease and ultimately from

death is conversion to eternal life, for which the Roman Catholic Church had devised a millenarian, official thaumaturgy that included, among other things, holy water, sanctuaries, relics, pilgrimages, ex-voto offerings, processions, propitiatory prayers, and invocation of the saints. To all this premodern technology of health, the Jesuits had added a psychologically nuanced and, to a degree, eroticized and aestheticized language of pain and compassion. Always aware of the danger of the superfluous, the healing energies created by this language directed toward the other (in Certeau's words) had to be locked up in (seemingly) easily controlled spaces: for example, in the confession box, in the hospital, or in the theater or painted on the walls of the churches. The spillover, of course, was just a matter of time. In the middle of the seventeenth century, António Vieira, who like many good Jesuit orators excelled in using the synecdoche, preached to his flock in Brazil that the hospital was, in fact, the whole world.[147]

The Jesuits in India might have said the same about the Goan and Malabar provinces. Paganism had scarcely retreated in Asia before the healing touch of Christian sacraments and in spite of the gigantic medical efforts of the Jesuits. In this light, the Regimento of the Royal Hospital in Goa acquired both a utopian and an antiutopian halo. It was a project of total surveillance, control, and submission, disguised as a project of total healing. And all those concerned believed that this was precisely their medical mission. Not Giovanni Battista de Loffreda, however, for he had long since been dismissed.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Twisting a Pagan Tongue

Portuguese and Tamil in Jesuit Translations

Confusion of Names

When Henrique Henriques (or Anrique Anriquez), a missionary among the Parava fishing communities in South India, chose to employ *tamiḻ* both as an adjective and a noun in his pious compendium of Christian saints and festivals printed in 1586, in Tamil language and in Tamil characters, he created an instant semantic dislocation, both subtle and gigantic.[1] His choice, as I demonstrate in this chapter, is a symptom of a linguistic, strategic, national, epistemic, though subterranean, rupture between Portuguese colonial and Jesuit spiritual conversion enterprises in Asia. On the surface, the uneasy cooperation continued until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Jesuits were made to pay for all the failures of the Portuguese "empire" in Portugal and beyond, but the relation between the secular and spiritual hands in the grand project of the Christianization of Asia remained one of contained mistrust.

Just as Asia, or some of its geographical pockets, was haltingly converted to Christianity, the Portuguese language, the extolled medium of religious conversion, was eclipsed and replaced by local languages. In the overseas regions, distant from immediate administrative and military centers such as Goa, efforts at downplaying or effacing Portuguese claims to sovereignty over the Asian Christian word (and world) were further facilitated after the 1580s, during the reign of the Spanish Habsburgs.[2] Some prominent Jesuits, many of them Italians—as the opponents of their accommodationist method of conversion never failed to mention—such as Alessandro Valignano, Matteo Ricci, and Roberto Nobili, at times openly dissociated themselves from Portuguese religious patronage.[3]

In the inaugurating story of Henriques's *Flos sanctorum* in Tamil, in addition to the absence of Portugal and Portuguese, Christianity itself

appears without its "European" origins. Thus he divided the religious world into Muslim, Jewish, Christian, and Tamil. The meaning of Tamil clearly extended to include all "pagans." Another confusing word is present in the title of the chapter, *cuṉṉattu,* which stood for circumcision. This Arabic term referred to a Muslim practice, making Henriques's statement oddly anachronistic since he first claimed that

> at the time of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ as a man, except for Jews and Tamils, there were no Muslims. As soon as he was born, an angel appeared and made known the news of his birth to the Jewish shepherd. In that manner, as soon as he was born, a star appeared to the three Tamil kings.[4]

By translating, or rather in his case substituting, key terms such as *gentío* or *ethnicus*—commonly used terms in Portuguese and Latin texts for a gentile or a heathen—with a proper noun designating a language and a people inhabiting a particular South Indian region, Henriques hoped to produce for his Tamil Christian readers a resonant past and a sense of difference vis-à-vis their non-Christian neighbors. To make somebody come to (*varuttu*) the Christian path/religion (*kiricittiyāṉi maṟkam*), as he paraphrased the act of conversion, meant stepping out of his/her Tamil identity and assuming a new one. A "true Christian religion" is therefore pitched against the "false Tamil religion," the latter ambiguously collapsing late antiquity paganism and Indian religious practices encountered in the sixteenth century.[5]

In this scheme of things, can we venture to say that, for Henriques and his like, conversion meant a total loss of previous identity, of cultural and social substance? Another linguistically and socially hegemonic move might furnish additional proof that the Jesuits' conversion strategies aimed at total annihilation of their converts' past experiences. In the same story of Christ's circumcision, Henriques insisted on regulating the attribution of personal Christian names. The Parava converts were not only to choose a Christian name for themselves and their children to replace Tamil names but also, he added—betraying that the opposite was often the case—to actually use them: "If anybody calls you by your Tamil name, do not respond."[6] The directory of suitable Christian names was the *Flos sanctorum* itself. Untranslatable stricto sensu, these were transliterated Portuguese names deformed at times beyond recognition through Tamil script and further adaptation to Tamil phonetics.

Thus St. Lucy became *su. uluciyāḷ;* St. Matthew, *su. mattēcu.* Over the course of time and in the course of geographical dispersion, some saints began to resemble local deities both in name and in action. St. Mary, or *su. mariyaḷ,* blended at times with *māriyammaṉ* and other manifestations of the goddess. Even the name of St. Francis Xavier, Henriques's famous predecessor and superior of the mission, engendered *cāverimuttu* (the pearl of Xavier), which is still a popular Christian Tamil name.[7]

It appears, however, that if discursively unbraided, the *Flos sanctorum* might serve as an exemplary school text for studying the articulation of religious linguistic colonialism. Arbitrary choice of words, confusion of names, and anachronistic borrowings are only the most conspicuous and heavy-handed tricks of the trade. However, in spite of the fact that both religious conversion and/or linguistic translation were valuable adjuncts and accessories of colonialist/imperialist ambitions, it has also been successfully argued that "translation and conversion produce the vernacular as that which simultaneously institutes and subverts colonial rule."[8] The inherent instability of the framework in which conversion and translation were to take effect made the encounter, in our case between Portuguese (the source language of missionary enterprise) and Tamil as well as other Asian vernacular languages (the receptor languages), a turbulent space for cultural transference.[9] Given that translative practices are unavoidably metaphoric activities, the displacement of meaning from one semantic site to another is endlessly threatened by willful or un-self-conscious human agency and arbitrary discursive moves. The operative field in which the translation is carried out is in itself a no man's land of otherness up for grabs by political, national, cultural, ecclesiastical, mystical, and "scientific" interventionists.[10] In a similar, although not identical, manner religious conversion as improvised in the Jesuit missionary field in Asia under the Portuguese padroado was an invitation to cultural nomadism, refugee movements (as was the case with so-called Rice Christians), social dissent, and political extremism.[11]

By looking closely into more than half a century of linguistic experiments in the first Jesuit mission in India, established by St. Francis Xavier on the southernmost stretch of sandy coast from Cape Comorin (Kanniyakumari) to Rameshwaram, I chronicle the gradual failure of the Portuguese linguistic "colonialist" muscle.[12] Ironically, or inevitably, the Jesuits, initially sent by the king of Portugal, João III, to boost—in words and in deeds—the Lusophone world in Asia, went native, on the

level of "parole," if not of langue. Therefore, the effects of treachery inherent in the act of translation affected both Portuguese and Tamil at the site of their encounter. Treacherous undercurrents, narrative deviations, as well as cultural reconstruction are to be found in various written documents produced by Henrique Henriques (printed or in manuscript) such as the *Flos sanctorum, Confessionairo, Arte Malauar, tampirā<u>n</u> vaṇakkam,* and *kiricittiyā<u>n</u>i vaṇakkam.*[13] If Parava pre-Christian identities were irreparably lost, new identities were eventually forged that successfully combined Christian religious imagery and ethics with Tamil cultural and linguistic expression.

Hence, by the end of the sixteenth century the unstable Christian linguistic territory of South India—while remaining staunchly Catholic—had decisively slipped out of Lusophony, which had in fact reflected the apogee of Portuguese "imperial" intentions in Asia. Without acquiring extensive territorial possessions, except coastal trade enclaves, and with a feeble presence of Portuguese native speakers, both the language and the "empire" diminished, disappearing by the end of the eighteenth century. But in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when rapid mercantile expansion was gaining momentum, Portuguese linguistic pretenses were rising high, along with political appetites.

Exchange and Capture of Foreign Words

At least four decades before the arrival of the missionaries, the first linguistic encounters between Portuguese and other European languages with various Asian languages were cast in narratives of exchange and capture. European travelogues and logbooks provided the first dictionaries of words and set phrases to facilitate mutual comprehension. Predictably, salutation formulas, verbs of perception (often in imperative or infinitive forms like *look* or *hear*), practical verbs and nouns referring to actions and things vital to subsistence (such as *food, to eat,* and *to drink*), and terms designating titles or functions pertaining to the local social hierarchy and mercantile commodities appeared in European print and manuscripts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The words were also perceived as booty, conquest, or possession by which to enrich one's language. An example of this wishful "imperialist" thinking is João de Barros, a famous Portuguese Renaissance polymath with a panoptic view of the role of the Portuguese language in Asia.[14]

> As we can see in all those words that begin with *ál* and *xá,* and in those that end with *z,* all of which are *mouriscos* (Arabic). And now, from the conquest of Asia we took *chatinár* for trading, *beniaga* for merchandise, *lascarim* for warrior (soldier), *cumbáya* for reverence and courtesy, and other *vocábulos* that are already so natural in the mouth of the people who go to those parts, just like their own Portuguese.[15]

These exotic borrowings were unquestioningly subjected to Portuguese linguistic sovereignty. The ultimate glory, Barros maintained, was to see Ethiopians, Persians, and Indians in the midst of their temples and pagodas learning the Portuguese language through which they could be converted to Christianity.[16] Thus, linguistic expansion leads naturally to religious conversion. Furthermore, the exotic peoples who inhabited Portuguese Asia, according to Barros, were no better than uninstructed children because they did not speak Portuguese.[17] For that reason, his *Gramática,* printed in Lisbon between 1539 and 1540, was not only, in his own words, intended for children but also intended for foreigners. Under the general title of *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa com os Mandamentos da Santa Madre Igreja* (Grammar of the Portuguese Language with the Commandments of the Church) four distinct works are to be found: (1) a *cartinha,* or a primer for learning basic literacy skills with a short catechism, (2) a grammar of the Portuguese language, (3) "O Diálogo em Louvor da Nóssa Linguágem," or "Dialogue in Praise of our Language," and (4) "Diálogo da Viçiosa Vergonha," or "Dialogue of Defective Shame." Reading and studying his *Gramática* was, in Barros's opinion, an enterprise much larger than the simple apprenticeship of letters and grammatical rules: it was also a way of learning Christian prayers and catechism, moral and ethical precepts, as well as theological and philosophical implications embedded in linguistic questions. And, most importantly, as a written and codified document, the *Gramática* could operate and produce from afar effects that, without temporal and material constraints, were more resistant to the corrosive force of time.

> Portuguese arms and memorial stones (*padrões*), planted in Africa and in Asia, and on thousands of islands beyond the three parts of the world, are material and time might spoil them, but it will not spoil the doctrine, customs and language that the Portuguese have left in those parts.

The comparison with the Roman empire that naturally follows merits closer attention, containing as it does both an open self-congratulation and a subtle warning against Portuguese overexpansion. Because the Romans insisted that the people they subjugated speak their language, Latin remained the only eternal signal of their past achievements when their empire crumbled.

Like Antonio de Nebrija, who presented his grammar of Castilian, the first grammar of a modern European tongue, as a gift to the Spanish royal family to enable it to use its national language as an "instrument" or a "partner" of the empire, Barros made a similar claim for his *Gramática* half a century later. In the dedication to the Portuguese prince and future king (*príncipe e rei em esperança*), he specifically underscored that the Asian nobles were also recipients of his grammatical gift and that four Indian chieftains were already studying Portuguese at the House of Santo Elói in Lisbon.[18] They came from Malabar country, where fifty-seven thousand souls had been converted and where "St. Thomas with so much labor and martyrdom left this life for the celestial glory." In spite of Barros's geographical and ethnographical imprecision, it is possible, though not certain, that these four chieftains belonged to the Parava pearl-fishing community from the Fishery Coast, converted nominally in the early 1530s, and were reconverted for the second and final time by St. Francis Xavier in the early 1540s.[19] It is most probable that the four chieftains in Barros's dedication returned home as *línguas* (tongues)—a common name for "colonial" interpreters—or as catechists, even diocesan priests. Regardless of their individual destiny, the point he was making was that they were brought to Lisbon on wings of love for the Portuguese language, "love which brings them thousands of miles" from home. In the 1580s, Henriques's three kings (*mūvi rācākkaḷ*), who made their entrance into the holy city of *vellem* (Belem, Betlehem) on the pages of the *Flos sanctorum*, were also Tamils far from their native country, but they had no intention to learn Portuguese. The truth is, however, that some relics of Portuguese and Latin words remain in the text to remind us of Barros and his overenthusiastic theory of linguistic expansion. While the first "Malabar" words were captured (along with their speakers) by Vasco da Gama's crew and brought to Lisbon, some eighty years later in Henriques's translations into Tamil, Portuguese words appear as captives rather than captors.[20]

Tamil Voices in Latin Script

A small masterpiece of early Portuguese typography, the *Cartilha em Tamul e Português, impressa em 1554 por ordem do Rei,* published by Germão Galhardo, a French master printer in Lisbon, is a curiously hybrid text in which Portuguese and Tamil appear to be engaged in an undecided tug-of-war.[21] The in-quarto edition of some forty pages in red and black Gothic lettering with seventeen small engravings/images was of mixed authorship. According to the prologue, Vicente de Nazarethe, Jorge Carualho, and Thome da Cruz, the three "Índios," translated the "doc(t)rina xrãa" into Tamil by order of the king of Portugal and under supervision of João de Villa de Conde, a Franciscan from the province of Piedade, who had spent some time in India. The polyphony of voices—Latin, Tamil, and Portuguese—arrested in the printed text demanded multiple authorizations, and the authorizing was done through a series of exterior sightings. From the royal to the final inquisitorial approval (*visto pola sancta inquisiçam*), the gazes of secular and religious officials continued to dovetail and crisscross with those of the authors, who knew very well that their expertise was only linguistic: "because we know all three languages."

The cartinha, or cartilha, belongs to a pedagogical literary genre that combined the learning of reading and writing (the primer) with basic prayers and religious teachings (the catechism). It seems that from the beginning of the sixteenth century cartinhas were in demand in Portugal and in the colonies, as well as *mestres de ler,* teaching the basic skills of reading and writing. In Lisbon, from thirty literacy schools for children (and some thirty-four teachers) in 1553, the number grew to sixty in 1620.[22] The printed word was thus trickling down to the houses of the illiterate metropolitan Portuguese, but also, and very early, to the overseas territories in order to teach the natives to speak. In 1512, Afonso de Albuquerque wrote to the king that he had discovered in Cochin a chest full of cartinhas and had given it to a casado to teach some boys to read and write.[23]

After almost half a century of Portuguese presence in India, when hundreds of cartinhas had been sent to promote the metropolitan language, the *Cartilha* of the three Indians, with typically Parava Christian names, and who might have been, according to Charles Boxer's speculative identification, the chieftains of João de Barros's *Gramática,* is the first reliable witness to the internal fracture in the linguistic "imperial-

ist" dream. Meant to produce literate colonial actors and subjects who could go on with the important work of Portuguese commercial and cultural expansion, the *Cartilha* brought back home a "pagan" vernacular and juxtaposed it with Portuguese and with Latin.

What made the *Cartilha* possible, and at first sight unproblematic, was the confidence and the consensus that its various authors held concerning the role of Portuguese vis-à-vis Tamil, or any other newly "discovered" language. Compared to Portuguese, these languages were less perfect, and some, like Tamil, had a long way to go before catching up. Barros felt compelled to juxtapose Portuguese and Latin in order to tease out a favorable comparison for the former, and the *Cartilha* operates in a similar vein. Tamil was made to appear poor, inefficient, and impure. As the three Indians pointed out in the prologue, Tamil possesses

> two limits (*extremos*) in the enunciation (*pronunciação*). The first is that it [the language] is poor in vocabulary / it cannot explain certain things by its own words and speaking styles (*estilos de falar*) / especially that which this work contains (*que esta obra leua*) and of which nothing is known in India, and it [the language/sentence] begins sometimes where the Portuguese end theirs [language, sentence] / and it begins where they end it: and sometimes the opposite: we search for circumlocutions that correspond to the sentence: without being in discord / as can be seen in the declaration (*declaração*) placed on top in red. The second is that it is so barbaric / that certain elocutions (*dições*) cannot be pronounced by any of the Latin characters (*com nenhums carateres latinos se podem pronunciar*).

In addition, Tamil is also accused of being flawed in terms of theological content and phonological substance. The passage from oral Tamil into written Portuguese was indeed resolved quite successfully, but without any reference to the Tamil writing system and script. The sounds that the three Indians fixed upon for their Portuguese audience were, however, not simply auricular. They were also completely "purified" from difficult, unpronounceable sounds such as the retroflex stops (ṭ, ṇ) and semivowels (ḷ, ḻ) and were therefore converted and normalized for regular Indo-European vocalics.[24] Correspondingly, lexical choices were equally reductive. Most technical Christian categories were inserted into the Tamil text in their original written form, for example, *sacramentos, baptismo, charisma, confissam, comunham,* as

well as the names of the apostles. Moreover, Tamil had a number of additional sounds that were disregarded by the translators, while other, nonexistent sounds were added, such as the fricative (f) as in confissam or *cathólica fé*—which is regularly replaced with the labial (p) in the Tamil script. In Henrique Henriques's translations printed in Tamil script, "I confess" became "kompecarikkiren," a hybrid elocution but fully respectful of the Tamil rules regarding both conjugation and phonology.

Transliteration of Tamil as it was fabricated in the *Cartilha* reterritorialized this puzzling, pagan language within the ambit of European linguistic dominion, showing a typical "imperial" casualness for disconcerting details. However, when detected, the difference is explained through (1) inversion—the Tamil sentence begins where the Portuguese ends—or (2) absence—Christian concepts/words nonexistent in Tamil. The solution to these problems came providentially from the printer's atelier. The choice of lettering, color, and graphic design succeeded in both underscoring and containing the difference, as well as reassuring the audience with a perfectly "analogical" translation/transcription. Romanized Tamil thus found itself squeezed between an interlinear word for word translation in red above (declaração) and a syntactically correct translation in black beneath.

Eu________peccador___ meu peccado a deos________ [red]
Nan pelleali enpillei tambiranoru [black]
Eu peccador e errado me confesso a deo [black]

digo________________: assi________aa sancta________________
xolurren: ápari puniauálatiána
e ha virgem sancta____________maria

virgem ______maria______________a sam___________Pedro______
caniastri mariatincaniastri mariatinōrum/puniaualánana pedrunó
________a sam ____Pedro______

________: assi ________a sam _______Paulo:______________a
rum:áuuanam puniaualánana paulunorum : pu
_______a sam __________Paulo ____________a

The interlinear translation was not a new method. From medieval manuscripts until the polyglot Bible printed in Alcalá, it was one of the

accepted ways of juxtaposing originals and translations. The Jesuit missionaries on the Fishery Coast reported having used it for preaching in the church as early as 1548, when Henriques transliterated a palm leaf manuscript (*ola*) from *malavar* to Latin script and wrote above each word "the declaration (*la declaración*) so that when it is read in the church, a Father or a Brother who was there present, could have a translation and could hear what was read."[25] How Henriques's interlinear translation looked on the palm leaf manuscript we may never know, but in the printed version of the *Cartilha,* Tamil appears as an inefficient language.[26]

Partly because it was printed in larger letters, the Tamil spreads along the lines without leaving any empty spaces, as the two Portuguese lines do. Red and black horizontal lines are, therefore, introduced to fill in the void between Portuguese words. The visual effect is that the Tamil transcription looks as if imprisoned by Portuguese lines, as if making sure that no "pagan" substances transgress into the pages of this pious book. (Fear of contamination or a convenient graphic solution, or both?) On the other hand, in spite of the empty spaces between Portuguese words, the Portuguese sentence appears precise and meaningful compared to the Tamil, or rather the Tamil sentence seems to be talking more and saying less. The complicated black and red graphic montage carries a very simple message—"I the sinner confess my sins to the Lord." The Tamil text, on the contrary, does not convey all that needs to be said. The verb denoting the act of confession is conspicuously absent from the literal translation above (declaração), where one finds a simple "peccado . . . digo" (I tell my sins). This omission does not seem to be necessary since, in another context—enumeration of the Church sacraments—*confissam* is present in the Tamil transliteration. More likely, the subtext warning is that confessing in Tamil was not quite as appropriate and efficient as confessing in Portuguese, as if the translators themselves tried to caution their readers not to mistake similarity for identity. While in Portuguese, words stood for things (actions, thoughts), in the Tamil translation, they were only unavoidable new clothes that, although not fitting perfectly, at least did not compromise the ultimate meaning.[27]

Besides simply transliterating the key concepts of the sacred Christian doctrine in order to avoid accidental incorporation of what was feared as Tamil "pagan" phonological substance, the Tamil translation

was geared to simplicity and, as its visual/graphic presentation amply confirms, to transparency. However, in spite of these precautions and translators' complaints about the poverty of the Tamil language (in expressing Christian *veritas*), local linguistic praxis made it virtually impossible to avoid contamination. In choosing an appropriate lexical fabric, the principle of "similarity" or "adequacy" was replaced by the principle of "authority." The words that ultimately made their way into the *Cartilha* to denote, for example, faith, the sacred, and the Holy Spirit came straight out of what would later be denounced as the local religious register. *Xudammana xitan* (the Holy Spirit), *punia* (sacred, merit, holy), *vizvasam* (faith), *mamdrangal* (prayers), *agajam* (heaven, sky), and many other terms were also used by Hindu religious specialists but seem to be taken implicitly by the translators as providing only a "neutral," phonological husk for the Christian concepts, while at the same time preserving something of an authorial mystique culturally inherent in these words. This complicated linguistic "conversion" reveals another important aspect, which made translation a nightmare for zealous European missionaries in South India. Most of the key technical words evoking Christian truths turned out to be taken from Sanskrit. Complex layering, with Sanskrit neatly woven through linguistic patterning, is a basic feature in most Indian languages.[28] Briefly, the use of Sanskrit was an unmistakable sign of a legitimating move. With all the twisting and turning of Tamil words in order to squeeze out a workable relation with Portuguese meanings, the truth of the matter is that the *Cartilha* is not, as it might first seem, a dialogic text at all. The translators claimed that it was written "in two languages, Tamil and Portuguese, so that everybody can profit," but who would have or could have profited from this booklet is an open question. Since primers were mainly intended for those who wanted to learn to read and eventually to write, one could, perhaps, learn to read Portuguese from the syllabary presented on the very first page of the *Cartilha,* but not Tamil. Furthermore, it was not helpful to those who wanted to learn basic Tamil, although for those Indian Christians who had already mastered some Portuguese, it could have served as a useful memorandum of Latin prayers. In the prologue, it is also underscored that this *doctrina* should be taken to various nations (*nações*); that is, it should be shipped out of Portugal to the overseas colonies.[29] Thus, in fact, the *Cartilha* was geared to convert, gradually and by means of a bilingual manual, Tamil native speakers into Portuguese naturalized Christian speakers and, ide-

ally, subjects. Barros's idea of Lusophone Asia still loomed large behind this project.

Nevertheless, the *Cartilha* is the product of a considerable translating effort. Tamil, in spite of its unsatisfactory phonetic transcription, is shown to be a real, if "defective" language, arrested in its effort to transpose and interpret Portuguese meanings (themselves transpositions from Latin). For the first time, Tamil was exposed to the Portuguese metropolitan view and could be read, heard, and voiced. It remained, of course, safely locked in orality and devoid of "self-reflection," unlike the redoubled Portuguese, which figures simultaneously as a source language and a receptor language. The role of the *Cartilha* was primarily to force its readers to pronounce what was written, to memorize it, and only incidentally to understand it. Language and knowledge (self-knowledge included) obviously did more (or less) than accompany each other in this early game of translation from Portuguese into Tamil in which the writing appears to have served mostly to recycle knowledge back into orality.

From Apostolic Gesture to Christian Tamil

While Franciscans threaded behind Portuguese military and diplomatic expeditions against Sri Lankan sixteenth-century kingdoms and while the three Parava students in Lisbon composed the *Cartilha,* on the other side of what some historians prefer to call the Mar de Ceilão (Sri Lankan See), Tamil was used by the Jesuits not as an exotic language of missionary exposure but as a refined tool of conversion.[30] The first missionary figure to cast doubt on the usefulness of the "imperialist" linguistic policy in Asia and to reject Portuguese as a language of conversion had been, in fact, implicitly sent to enforce it. Not a native speaker of Portuguese himself, Francis Xavier (1506–52), the first Jesuit missionary in Asia, was ready to teach the world Portuguese if that was how the Christianization of the world was to proceed, but he was also "indifferent" enough—in the Jesuit sense of the word—to adopt and adapt any other language if necessary. In Lisbon and initially in Goa, Portuguese appeared as a natural choice, and among the many books given as gifts to Xavier and Simão Rodrigues during their visits to the court of João III, Barros's *Gramática* was probably one.[31]

Once in Goa, in 1542, Xavier wrote his *Small Catechism,* a basic prayer book in Portuguese, a large part of which was taken verbatim from Barros's cartinha. The *Small Catechism* would in the course of time grow into the *Big Catechism* with the addition of the Declaration of the Articles of Faith, which Xavier wrote around 1546–47 during his stay on the island of Ternate.[32] The latter version of the text was then copied and sent to all Jesuit missionaries as a manual for teaching Christian doctrine, and in 1556, with the introduction of the printing press in Goa, it became one of the first books printed in Asia.[33] Portuguese was, therefore, around the middle of the sixteenth century considered the master language for the teaching of the Christian doctrine in Asia. It was, of course, a lingua franca of the merchant communities involved directly or indirectly in trade with the Portuguese.

"Speaking half black and half Portuguese," if not in words and through their meaning, Xavier nevertheless could make himself understood everywhere and left an impression on his audience.[34] His theatrical actions were performed in public places in the Portuguese colonial enclaves—prisons, churches, streets, marketplaces, and the viceroy's palace—as well as in private homes, *portas adentro,* as this particular "action" seems to have been called. In the evening after confessing prisoners, according to the habitual scenario, he walked the streets and summoned the faithful with a little bell (*campainha*)—in imitation of which it was called in Europe *mos Indicus*—shouting loudly according to one of the witnesses in Melaka, the Jesuit Francisco Pérez, "Christianos, mandad vuestros hijos y hijas, esclavos e escalvas a la predicación de la fee (Christians, send your sons and daughters, and slaves to the predication of the faith)."[35] When some three hundred people had gathered around him, Xavier led them in a procession toward one of the designated churches in the town. With the polyphonic orchestration of sounds—prayers, exclamations, sighs, and lachrymose suspirations—he tried to conjure up an interior *lingua sancta*, a universal language, a mother tongue of mystical ecstasies. The method of Loyola's spiritual exercises is clearly visible in Xavier's approach—from sensual experience to interior ripening of word and image, from cognitive experiment to mystical certainty, from indecision to clear discernment of the will.[36] The combination of images and words that staged a specific Jesuit experiential/experimental language was to become a new and powerful tool of public introspection. Xavier introduced this sort of mixed media into the missionary field with considerable success. Schurhammer was prob-

ably right to point out that the mixture of "black" and "Portuguese" refers to a particular mixed vernacular, a Creole Portuguese in basic syntax and variously garnished with the Konkani vocabulary in Goa or any other indigenous language elsewhere.

The mixture of linguistic registers produced multiple and changing versions of *crioulos* (Creole Asian dialects based on Portuguese), some of which have survived into the twentieth century. Linguistic creolization is in many ways an ideal colonial situation in which the language of the masters is never completely the language of the slaves or subjects. Although the natives were quick to speak or curse back in Portuguese, their speech was endlessly interrupted by communicative sequences (phonetic, morphological, and syntactic) borrowed from alien tongues.[37] Creolization was also particularly useful to the missionaries because a crioulo was taken for a language without a grammar, a young, still unformed language, or simply for no language at all, but rather a corrupted Portuguese. The burden of translation is, therefore, lighter since the most important decisions as to how to translate the terms and categories of the doctrine become unnecessary. Key words in Portuguese or Latin, usually nouns and verbs, although slightly tarnished, remain unmoved in pronunciation. Their "kingly" state inspired João de Barros to explain his theory of universal language through the rules of chess, a theory that prefigures linguistic theories from Port Royal to the generative grammar of Noam Chomsky.

> Two kings are needed just as in the game of chess, one of one color and the other of another, and each of them keeps his pieces stationed in their own houses (*cásas*) and arranged, with obligations (*leies*) of what each of them has to do (according to the office given to it): in this way all the languages have two kings, different in kind, and equal (*concórdes*) in office: one is called Noun and the other Verb. Each of the kings has his own queen, that of the Noun they call Pronoun, that of the Verb they call Adverb. Participle, Article, Conjunction, Interjection are all pieces and principal captains who have under their jurisdiction many foot soldiers, i.e., modes of expression (*dições*).[38]

Barros's grammar was intended to be an Arte, which would enable the teachers of language (*artistas*) to successfully mold the minds of their students.[39] The early translations of the doctrine into non-European languages, therefore, proceeded by substituting words considered as neutral, such as adverbs and prepositions, while retaining as far as

possible the "two kings" in their Portuguese form. Thus, a particular type of crioulos came into being, fabricated specifically for the purpose of religious teaching and conversion. It was these syncretic languages that Xavier cultivated in his various Asian missions.

These "kings" were crucial for the first generation of Jesuit missionaries in Asia. From his experience Xavier knew that "if from our Company came some foreigners who do not speak Portuguese, it is necessary that they learn to speak, because otherwise there will be no *topaz* to understand them."[40] The topaz (interpreter) who, according to the etymology proposed by Paulinus à Sancto Bartolomaeo, knew two (*do*) languages (*bhashya)* was the same type of linguistic intermediary usually called *língua* in Brazil and other Portuguese colonies.[41] This sort of translator—and often traitor as the popular adage goes—was the peon or the foot soldier in the Portuguese linguistic invasion without whose initial help no understanding was possible. After trust comes aggression, and in the course of time, all "errors" of translation were duly deposited on the account of the topazes.[42] In the long run, the linguistic strategy of the Jesuits was to avoid their services altogether or to train and turn their most ardent converts into topazes or, inversely, topazes into reliable converts.

The three Parava authors of the *Cartilha* printed in Lisbon in 1554 were, technically, topazes. On his way from Goa to the Fishery Coast, Xavier was also accompanied by three natives, two of whom, Gaspar and Emmanuel, were deacons who spoke both Portuguese and their own language.[43] The translation of his *Small Catechism* into Tamil was the work of these, or similar, specially trained local helpers.[44] After only two years of initial fieldwork outside Goa and away from direct Portuguese administration, Xavier had learnt a most important lesson that would not be forgotten: that the Christianization of Asia was not coeval with "Portugalization." The linguistic opening became inevitable and indispensable.

From Impurity of Blood to Purity of Language: The First Jesuit Tamil Language School

In 1549, at least three missionaries showed real linguistic talents and were able to speak without interpreters—Antonio Criminali, Paulo do Vale, and Henrique Henriques—while others either still spent their time

learning or at least managed to learn by heart the basic prayers.[45] Since by a twist of fate two of them died shortly, Henriques consequently became the pivot of all linguistic activity in the mission. In his letter to Ignatius of Loyola, Henriques hinted at the fact that learning Tamil was a heroic endeavor.[46] He did not dare present it as a kind of "white" martyrdom, although he could have done just that, as a number of Jesuits—Paulo do Vale and Adam Francisco among them—were believed to have died within a few years in the mission because of extraordinary physical efforts, of which language learning was one. His subliminal, or between-the-lines, message to Loyola concerning the unexpectedly quick mastery of this "laborious language" (*muy trabajosa*), as well as the "recovery" of his "normally" weak health, is that they were proof of the special "forces" (*fuerças*) with which "our Lord gives me to work."[47] Learning languages thus became a thaumaturgic act as well as an act of providence soon to be linked to a new Pentecostal miracle.

In Henriques's Jesuit missionary career, linguistic expertise had, per force, a special place. As an *asás bom letrado* (quite literate in Latin) who studied philosophy and theology in Coimbra, he was a perfect candidate to join the Society, except for a small biographical detail. He belonged to the family of *cristãos novos* (New Christian) from Vila Viçosa in the Archdiocese of Évora and thus had to endure all the civic and religious disabilities that this "impurity of blood" entailed. In the 1540s and early 1550s, a thought-out Jesuit policy of recruitment or internal gradation was neither in place nor fixed, and Henriques was not alone in finding himself in limbo between being accepted and not being confirmed. For this reason his early letters to Loyola read like statements of purpose for his various linguistic projects: a Tamil grammar to be used for learning the language, translations of the doctrine and various other religious manuals, as well as homilies on and refutations of Hindu "paganism."

Behind the scenes he was, nevertheless, pulling strings as best as he could and not without reason. Unlike in Europe, where Loyola encouraged Jews and New Christians to join the Jesuit ranks, in India the situation was entirely different.[48] In one of his late instructions to Gaspar Barzeus (April 6–14, 1552) Xavier recommended that those who were "of Hebrew lineage" not be admitted, a decision that obviously went against the Jesuit policy defined in Rome. This was probably less of a personal decision than a question of yielding to the pressures building in India, especially with the arrival of a larger contingent of Portuguese

Jesuits who easily confused Portuguese colonial and "national" priorities with missionary imperatives. Thus when, in 1549, the army of Badagas decapitated Antonio Criminali, the missionaries on the Fishery Coast unanimously elected Henrique Henriques as their superior because "he was most sufficient for that (*mais sufficiente pera isso*) and knew the language, and the Christians got along well with him."[49]

It was this position of authority that brought Henriques more trouble than recognition. His desperation is clearly visible in his repeated pleas to do something about his *impedimento*.[50] Although the impediment is not mentioned in the letter itself, it could not have been his New Christian origins since there was no such provision in the Jesuit official documents. Technically, Henriques's problem was that he had briefly been a *capochino*, as Nicolò Lancilotto reported to Rome in 1548, that is, a member of the Franciscan reformed order of the Piedade province, but he was dismissed when his Jewish ancestry was revealed.[51] However, in another letter in 1551, Lancilotto again clearly spelled out the reason behind Henriques's "persecution": "He [Henriques] excused himself from being Superior, because he was of the New Christian lineage (*casta de christãos novos*) and because the Portuguese would be scandalized to see a New Christian in charge of other Fathers."[52]

Loyola's absolute refusal to subscribe to the racial theory of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) and his staunch belief that conversion could clean even the "dirtiest" of blood were positions progressively hammered into the very heart of the Society of Jesus.[53] The rejection of biology in favor of culture did not, however, in any way mean the introduction of toleration of religious difference. On the contrary, initial openness was no more than a strategy or a method of conversion, a way of carving an entrance into the community in order to bring it "out" as Christian. Individual converts were especially considered as cherished Trojan horses to be installed among their kith and kin or to be sent elsewhere as missionaries.

Although Ignatius of Loyola conferred the status of spiritual coadjutor on Henriques, a permanent doubt about his religious and missionary vocation must have remained among "nationalist" Portuguese Jesuits.[54] As plans to set up the Inquisition were progressing, especially after Xavier's passionate plea to João III, Henriques had to shore up his professional identity in increasingly menacing circumstances.[55] It was his gift of languages that enabled him to effectively defend his spiritual innocence, orthodoxy, and divine election.





Fig 1a. *(above)* Bom Jesus Jesuit Church (Basilica), Old Goa. Pulpit decorated with the wooden statues of Nagas or Naginis or Nagayakshis (seventeenth century). These imaginary creatures are traditionally associated with spirits dwelling in trees and water. They are worshiped by the Hindus for their power over fertility and are closely connected with Bhagavati, the fierce virgin goddess.

Fig. 1b. *(left)* Bom Jesus Jesuit Church (Basilica), Old Goa. A detail of the decorated pulpit. An androgynous Nagayakshi (seventeenth century).



FIG. 1C. Santa Monica, Old Goa. A detail of the decorated pulpit of the church in the interior of this first monastery for women in Asia. A female Nagayakshi (seventeenth century).



FIG. 1D. Naga worship in Tamil Nadu. A detail of a roadside temple between Satyamangalam and Salem.



FIG. 2. *(above)* Bom Jesus Jesuit Church (Basilica), Old Goa. Facade facing west and the Jesuit Casa Professa adjacent to it.

FIG. 3A. *(above right)* Velankanni Arokkiya Mata (Our Lady of Health) Church in Tamil Nadu. Reputed as a healing place, it is crowded all year long and especially for its annual festival (September 9). Among various religious offerings by the devotees to the Velankanni Virgin are the head shave, as advertised on the picture, and young sprouted coconuts.

FIG. 3B. *(right)* Sprouted coconut offerings stored within the Velankanni Arokkiya Mata Church enclosure



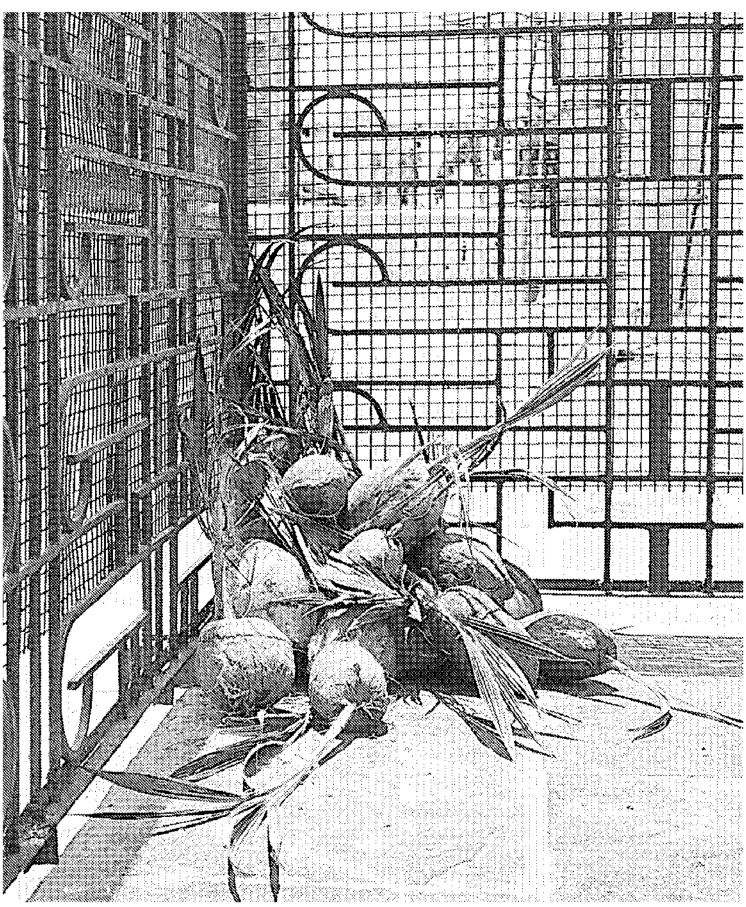




FIG. 4. *(above)* The tomb of St. Francis Xavier in the Bom Jesus Jesuit Church (Basilica), Old Goa

FIG. 5. *(above right)* The feet of St. Xavier. A detail from a popular postcard sold in Goa.

FIG. 6. *(right)* The holy *darshan* (vision) of St. Xavier's body. Picture taken during his last exposition in 1994 (locally sold postcard).



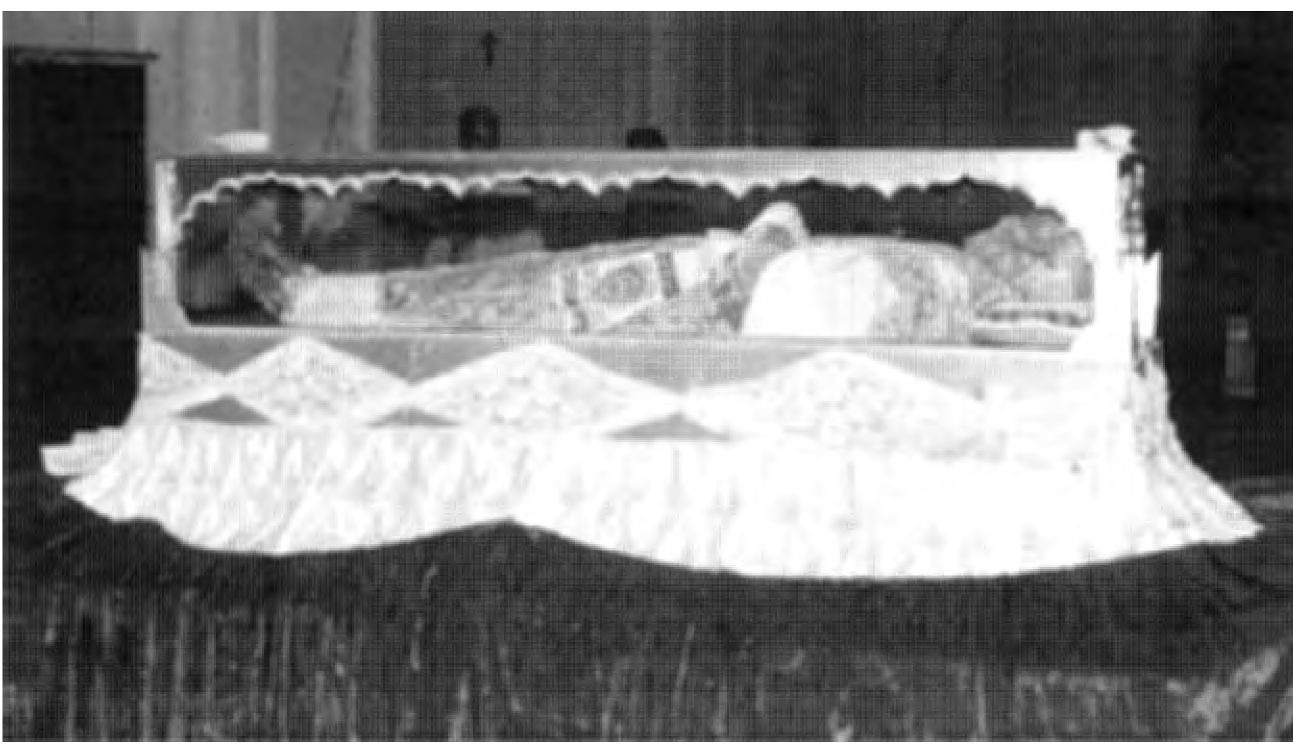










FIG. 7. *(left above)* Chennai (Madras). Big Mount. The Church of our Lady of Expectation. The main altar with the Sassanid cross in the background and the garlanded "true image of Our Lady by St. Luke."

FIG. 8A. *(left)* Chennai (Madras), Saidapet. Little Mount. The Church of Our Lady of Health.

FIG. 8B. *(above left)* Chennai (Madras), Saidapet. Little Mount. The Church of Our Lady of Health. The inside of the church with the entrance to the cave where, according to the local lore collected by the Portuguese, St. Thomas used to spend hours in meditation. On the left side, a Syrian cross is engraved on the wall.

FIG. 9. *(above right)* Chennai (Madras). Big Mount. The Church of Our Lady of Expectation. By the right side of the main altar, the encased relic of St. Thomas.



FIG. 10. Lisbon. Sacristy in São Roque Church. André Reinoso, *St. Francis Xavier Supplicating the Badaga Army in Comorim* (seventeenth century). (Courtesy of the Museu de S. Roque/Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa. © Laura Castio Caldas & Paulo Cintra.)



FIG. 11. Lisbon. Sacristy in São Roque Church. André Reinoso, *St. Francis Xavier in a Shipwreck on a Journey to China*. (Courtesy of the Museu de S. Roque/Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa. © Laura Castio Caldas & Paulo Cintra.)

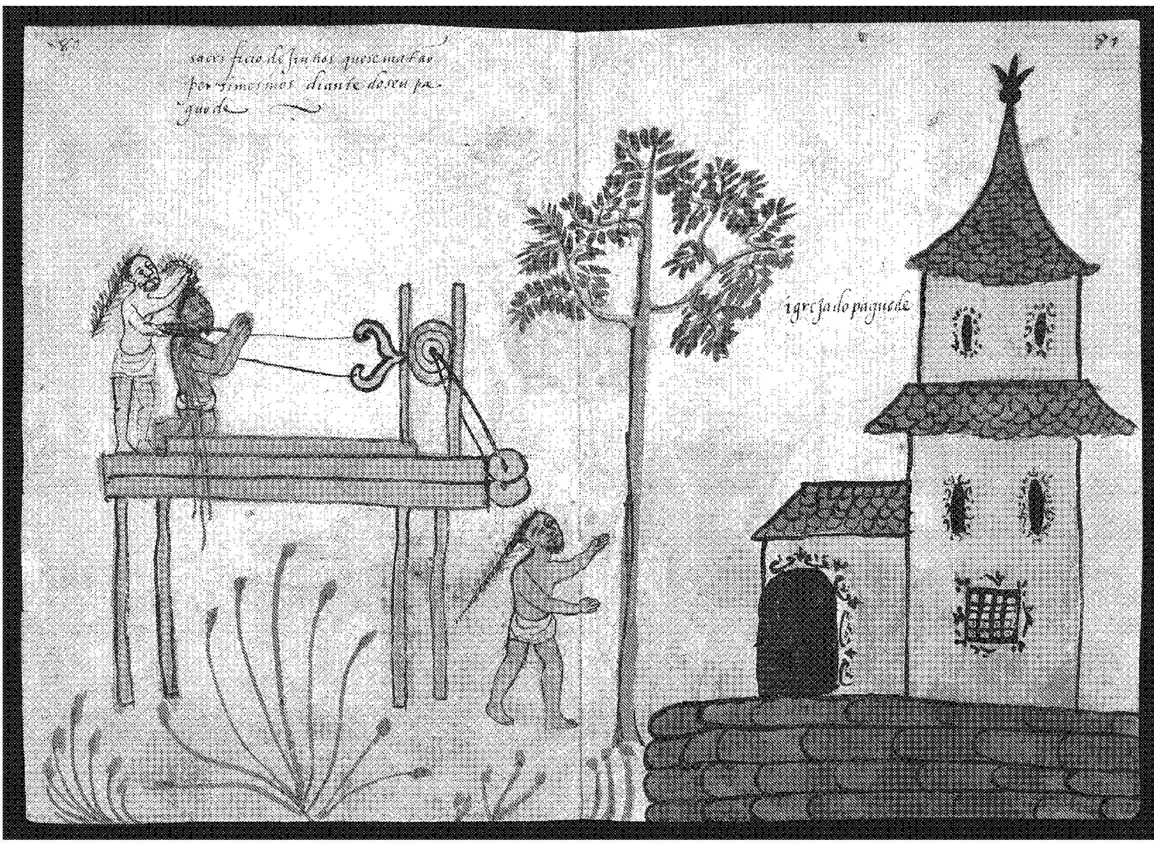


FIG. 12. Anonymous Portuguese codex from Goa, sixteenth century. "Sacrificio de gintios que se matam per si mesmos diante do seu paguode. Igreja do paguode." (Gentile sacrifices in which they kill themselves in front of their gods. The church of the god.) (Courtesy of the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome [MS 1889, nos. 80–81].)



FIG. 13. Anonymous Portuguese codex from Goa, sixteenth century. "Gintios malavares que chamam nayres." (Malabar gentiles called Nayars) (Courtesy of the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome [MS 1889, nos. 114–15].)

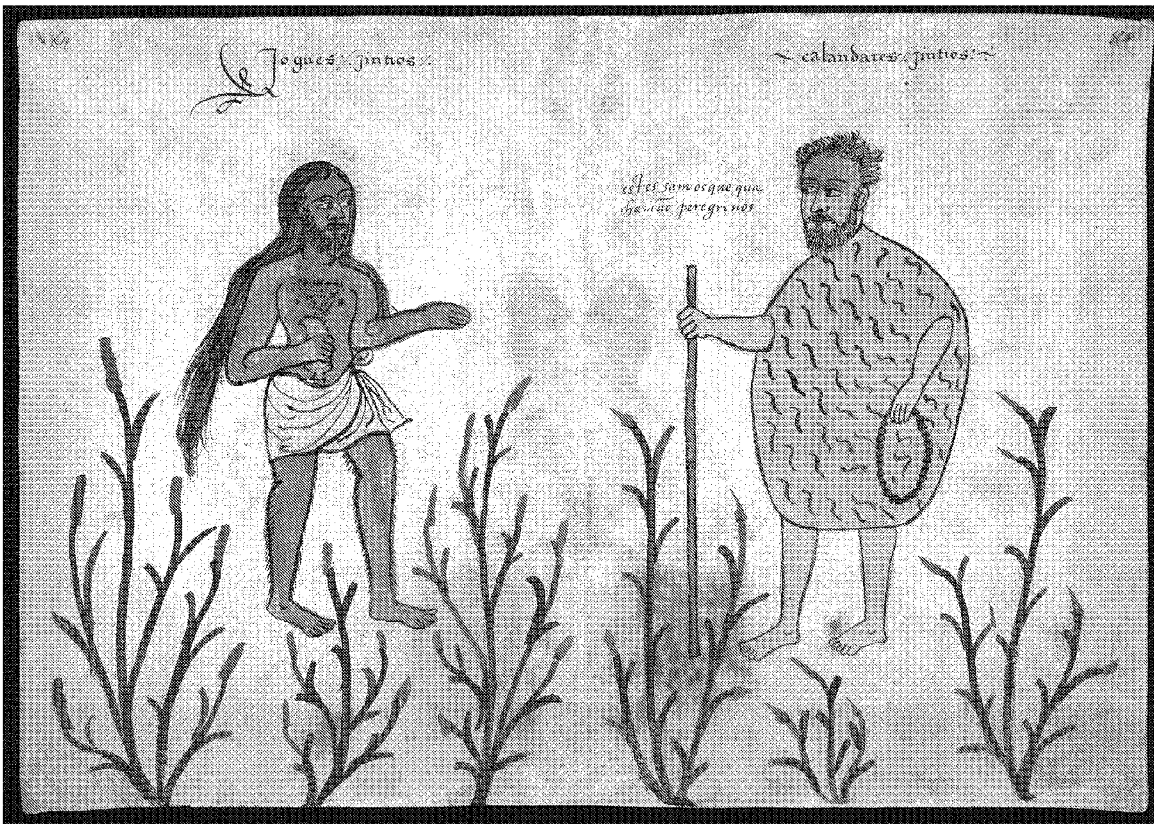


FIG. 14. Anonymous Portuguese codex from Goa, sixteenth century. "Jogues gintios, Calândares gintios. Estes são os que qua chamam peregrinos." (Gentile jogis, gentile colanders. They call them renouncers [pilgrims].) (Courtesy of the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome [MS 1889, nos. 84–85].)



FIG. 15. Anonymous Portuguese codex from Goa, sixteenth century. "Cristãos malavares que fez ho bem avinturado Sam Tomé." (Malabar Christians converted by the Blessed Saint Thomas) (Courtesy of the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome [MS 1889, nos. 116–17].)





FIG. 16. *(top)* Old Goa, near the ruins of the College of St. Paul. The remains of the building that once housed the Hospital of the Poor Natives.

FIG. 17. *(bottom)* Margão (Goa). The Espirito Santo church.

The Art of Speaking: The First Tamil Grammar

Henriques's self-discovery of linguistic talents is shot through with a dose of mystic and providential fantastication, as demanded by a budding Jesuit literary convention. He was barely able to keep back his enthusiasm for what he probably considered the real discovery—his ability to crack open the grammatical structure of Tamil.

> I had a sort of a grammar (*arte*) to learn it, because just as in Latin we learn conjugations, I made an effort (*trabajé*) to learn this language, [and] I conjugated the verbs; and to arrange (*allar*) preterits, futures, infinitive, subjunctive, etc., cost me great work; also to learn accusative, genitive, dative, and other cases; and as well to learn what comes first, the verb or a number or a pronoun, etc.[56]

The key to this point-to-point mapping of grammatical forms was its perfect fit with something he already knew—Latin grammar, or the "Grammar." This discovery, or rather confirmation, of the basic underlying unity of all languages may have also further enhanced Henriques's linguistic and hermeneutic motivation. A space of fixed grammatical rules to be uncovered and followed was also a space of certainty, unlike the unpredictability of social rules in his doubly hostile environment—paganism on the one hand and the Inquisition on the other. In fact, Henriques's almost obsessive concern with rules and orders was frequently remarked by his Jesuit superiors, not as a positive virtue of obedience but as an excess of scruples.[57] He resurfaces in his letters as a dogged writer of petitions, asking permission for the minutest detail or trivia.

His Tamil grammar was not about trivia at all, and one can glimpse in the written manuscript his titanic effort to grammaticalize a "pagan" tongue.[58] It is important to note that what he did to Tamil was what João de Barros had done to Portuguese only eight years earlier, and in an indirect way he did acknowledge his debt to the *Gramática* by stating that "in order to easily understand this grammar (arte) it is important to know Latin grammar, and those who do not know Latin have to read a Portuguese grammar made by Yoaõ dBairros."[59] Although their philological project is identical, namely the description and prescription of grammatical rules of a given language, the difference in pedagogical articulation is obvious. Literacy is the primary goal of Barros's compendium. From learning the art of *recte scribendi* (correct writing) of

their own mother tongue, children and other *idiotae* were to gradually assimilate higher ethical and intellectual precepts.[60] Henriques's is an art of *recte loquendi* (correct speaking) of a foreign language, and given its rudimentary form, it is not a grammar at all but a shortcut manual enabling missionaries to say the right thing to their Parava converts and to impress the "pagans."

The text is scattered over 157 sheets and resembles an open notebook, as if additions were to be included as they were discovered, formalized, verified, and approved. To a certain extent even the unitary authorship is in question, as the manuscript bears no signature and the Tamil inscriptions seem to have been added only after the version in Latin characters was completed. This unfinished, open-ended form agrees with the picture we get concerning its composition from Henriques's correspondence. For almost twenty years, in practically each and every letter sent to Europe, he reported on improvements he had made in the initial text. From his letter to Loyola, in 1548, announcing the plan to write a grammar of Tamil to his letter to another New Christian and the general of the Society of Jesus, Diogo Laínez, in 1564, mentioning his grammar as finished (*grammatica feita*), it is clear that the process of grammaticalization was fraught with difficulties.[61]

The pronunciation of certain Tamil sounds/letters was most certainly one of the major problems for the missionaries. The *Cartilha* (1554) mentions the unpronounceable elocutions (diçóes), that is, those voices that escape the fixed grid of the Latin characters. "So barbarian" (*[lingua] tã barbara*) was Tamil, according to the *prólogo,* that even printers lacked accents for marking its unspeakable phonological features. From Lisbon, the three Tamil native speakers, possibly Paravas themselves, echoed a predictable metropolitan view. From the Fishery Coast, Henriques's perspective was entirely different. Since each "strange" sound has its own letter in Tamil, the Latin characters appear as lacking descriptive force. Thus for certain sounds, such as the retroflex (ṭ, ṭṭ) and especially the lateral flap (ḻ), this linguist avant la lettre invented particular signs such as "ł" with a line through the *l*.[62] It is an accepted fact among contemporary linguists that the Dravidian phonological systems—of which Tamil is one of the most prominent examples—contain a number of striking features compared to other world languages and often lead to a "notational nightmare."[63] According to Henriques, "sometimes, not all of them understand me, and because of that many times when I preach in the church, I say words in the same Malabar language and make another one say the same, who is like a *topaz,* so that

everybody can better understand."[64] The doubling of the preaching voice points to the fact that it was the missionary tongue that had to be twisted in order to produce meaningful sounds. Nevertheless, the topaz's acoustic organ was all a missionary needed since the real substance (the content and linguistic material) of the sermons was closely controlled by Henriques because "here there is no topaz who can explain the things of the faith; when a Father says one thing, they [the interpreters] often say the other."[65] The topazes were, therefore, increasingly seen as those who distorted while translating the glad tidings of the Christian faith. The fault was no more a simple *lapsus linguae* but was increasingly seen as originating either in malice or in basic misunderstanding. It was the "pagan" mind that needed to be twisted before it could accommodate the sacred truth. Henriques's doctrinal texts and the confession manual were made just for that, but before the labor of turning the other's mind inside out, a missionary had to acquire the best possible linguistic competence.[66] The goal was to speak better than the natives, and to make them believe that "it could not be [achieved] by human means."

Short as it is, and in spite of its various defects, Henriques's *Arte Malauar* is not simply a grammar; it is a Christian grammar, or if one may add a subcategory, a Christian missionary grammar since the choice of its interior linguistic apparatus is geared to keeping the conversion machine going. It comes as no surprise then that the verb employed to demonstrate the conjugation paradigm—in Latin grammars it was usually *amo, amare, amavi, amatum*—in Tamil was *vicuvadi,* to believe. On more than thirty sheets, this verb spreads faith in all its forms—participles, verbal nouns, imperatives, conditionals, and so on. Sentence examples in Tamil and Portuguese translation cover almost all that can be said and done with the word *to believe* in two languages and often in two scripts. For example:

como se a de crer [Portuguese]
vichuuadiquiravagu epirhi [transcription of Tamil into Latin characters]
viccuvatikkiravaku eppeṭi [in Tamil script]
[how to believe]

crer nos pagodes he tamto como crer nos demonios
pagaudiaei vichuuadiquiradu paeae vichuuadiquira mathiram
[believing in pagodas (pagan gods) is the same thing as believing in demons]

em lugar de crer em deus cree nos pagodes
tambiranaei vichuuadiquiraducu pagauadiai vichuuadiquran
[instead of believing in God he believes in pagodas]

According to Bror Tiliander, *vicuvācam* (*viśuvāsa,* Sanskrit) in its theological signification of faith is absent from Tamil (Hindu) theistic literature and appears to be "a property of Christian Tamil."[67] Henriques is at the beginning of its Christian genealogy, according to Tiliander, although technically it was Xavier who introduced it, in his corrigendum of the Tamil prayers, by replacing the verb *vēṇṭum* with *vicuvācam.*[68] The question of etymology and of borrowings is more often than not a terrain of shifting sand, but one thing is certain: in defining the relation between the divine and the human, the combined richness of the Sanskrit and Tamil languages had more than enough words to accommodate Christian theology. When a native category in Tamil or Sanskrit was deemed to be too close to a "pagan" practice, another one was chosen from what the missionaries (often confusingly) thought were the profane or secular linguistic registers. The etymology of *viśuvāsa,* referring back to the act of breathing, besides its additional meaning of trust and confidence, and its absence from the daily religious practice of the "pagans," was certainly decisive for its inclusion in Tamil Christian nomenclature.

Henriques's grammar is a curious enterprise in at least one more sense. Due to its contrastive structure, incessantly opposing two languages, it is an embryonic comparative grammar and, therefore, contains two grammars—one of Portuguese and the other of the Tamil language. As in the game of *mise-en-abîme,* Latin grammar still works from within the Portuguese. Whatever his difficulty in precisely describing and fixing the rules of Tamil, his method of teaching was a complete success. His residence in Punnaikayal turned into a language school for the missionaries, who were given six to ten months to learn Tamil well enough to preach and, more importantly, to hear confession.

By 1552 Henriques's linguistic appetites had grown wild. In a letter to Loyola, he claimed that "if I'm not wrong, but by the goodness of God, I feel (*sinto*) the manner by which in a short while (*em breves dias*) the declensions and conjugations of any language from these parts can be extracted. . . . To have good interpreters would be enough."[69] In the course of time he would try his hand at Malayalam (*maleame*), which he compared to Tamil by way of comparison between Por-

tuguese and Spanish, and Konkani and Telugu (Badaga).[70] Henriques was persuaded that he could do the same for Japanese, Ethiopian (of Prester John), Chinese, or any other language.[71] The 1560s, with Francisco de Borja at the head of the Society of Jesus (1565–72), were particularly propitious for the writing of grammars and other linguistic works. From 1565, the Jesuit Roman Curia actively encouraged missionaries not only to learn local languages but also to compose grammars and dictionaries (*algún vocabulario o método*) and to send the copies of such works to Europe. With Everard Mercurian, who replaced Borja as a general of the order (1573–80), and the arrival of Alessandro Valignano, first as a "visitor" of the province (1573–83) and later as provincial (1583–87, and then again visitor until his death in 1606), a veritable linguistic offensive took place in the overseas missions—in India, China, and Japan.[72] An offensive against "paganism" but also against Portuguese. In 1577, Mercurian, addressing missionaries in the East and West Indies, reminded them that learning local languages was part and parcel of the *divina voluntad* (divine will) and that the divine grace would help those who did.

Tamil in Print: Jesuit Linguistic Offensive

For Henriques, this new Jesuit priority meant partly a recognition of his work and partly an additional effort. In 1575, the first provincial congregation that took place in Goa spelled out very clearly that the translations of doctrinal literature (catechisms, confession manuals, lives of saints, etc.) were to be printed in local languages.[73] Although catechetical activity in Tamil and in Konkani was of long date, only after Valignano's administrative shake-up did a series of codified translations come out of the presses. Four of Henriques's major works printed in Cochin and Kollam in Tamil characters, especially cut for them, have survived in one or two copies in the European archives.

The texts themselves bear witness to very close cooperation between Parava Christans and the Jesuit missionaries in crafting Tamil Christian language, liturgy, sociability, and affects. That the missionaries, also Henriques, were at every step helped by the local "sábios (learned men)" and "poets" is amply corroborated in the existing Jesuit correspondence. According to the second page of the small catechism *Doctrina Christam,* or *tampirāṉ vaṇakkam*, printed October 20, 1578, in

the Collegio do Saluador in Coulam (Kollam or Quilon), the coauthor of the booklet (sixteen pages in all) was a certain Padre Manoel de São Pedro, who neither appears in the Jesuit catalogues nor was ever mentioned in the Jesuits' letters. His name and his title suggest that he was a secular priest and a Parava. Brushed aside by Jesuit historians as one of the native priests, local intermediaries like him were in fact crucial in the construction of the Jesuit linguistic edifice.[74]

During the final decades of the sixteenth century, Parava interpreters with increasing sophistication in the matters of Christian doctrine appeared and replaced former topazes or linguas, some of them non-Christian. Most of them came out of missionary schools in Cochin, Goa, and even Lisbon and Coimbra.[75] Already in 1551, these new "vines of the Lord" knew by heart Latin prayers such as the Paternoster and the Ave Maria and pronounced them "reasonably well," even better than the Portuguese who settled on the Fishery Coast.[76] A year later, most of the thirty consecrated churches in the mission possessed, according to Lancilotto, Henriques's book entitled *A Small Compendium in Malavar Language about the Creation of the World, about Angels and Men, about Hell, Heaven, about Sin, about Grace and about Demons*.[77] In addition, paintings of sacred images—"from the beginning of the world until Judgment Day"—were made in Goa by a Portuguese who then brought them to the Fishery Coast. These represented, wrote Henriques to Loyola, "a book by which those with less knowledge could easily learn the things of the faith."[78] Christian imagery finally welled up and invaded oral literature with local bards weaving together local stories, such as Xavier's miraculous resurrections and the like, with biblical master narrative.[79]

Henriques's printed texts were, therefore, no simple translations from Latin or Portuguese into Tamil; they contained the already tested, negotiated, and appropriated "eloquence" of the Parava Christian community. Just as the stone churches replaced earlier mud and palm leaf structures, printed books replaced paper manuscripts and *olai* (palm leaf strips).[80] However, unlike the *Cartilha,* which exhibits Tamil translation as an object of wonder and exoticism, the *Doctrina Christam* (*tampirāṉ vaṇakkam*), printed in Kollam in 1578, presents Portuguese as a curious intermediary language that needs protection. On the second page, a diamond-shaped sign is introduced in order to shelter Portuguese and Latin words appearing in the text, that is, all except titles such as "Pello Sinal," "Credo," and "Os Mandamentos," which

stand alone and apart from the Tamil text.[81] Unlike the *Cartilha,* the *tampirāṉ vaṇakkam* does not posture as a primer, although it is in fact an ABC of the Christian doctrine with all the principal vocabulary to be used in other longer and more elaborate printed works. It was in the *Doctrina Christam* or *kiricittiyāṉi vaṇakkam,* a translation of Jorge Marcos's Portuguese catechism published a year later (1579) in the Collegio da Madre de Deos in Cochin, that the Christian Tamil categories come to life as dramatized figures.[82] Marcos's *Doutrina Christã* seems to have been in use and performed already in the early 1570s in Cochin, together with Xavier's *Small Catechism.*

> The Christian doctrine is done (*se faz*) in this college, as is the custom, every day and sometimes on the town-squares (*polas praças desta cidade*). On Sundays, two of the teachers walk through the town with a bell; they bring more than a thousand children and slaves who fill the whole church where they are made to do the doctrine in dialogue and that of P.e Mestre Francisco, of holy memory. Father Rector often does it or another Father in his place, and then they sing on the street as they go.[83]

Henriques's *kiricittiyāṉi vaṇakkam* must have served, at least on special occasions, the same purpose—that is, as a libretto for an open display of religious zeal under the guise of the procession of children. The space of education and religious ritual was thus collapsed into a public spectacle. The quick exchange of dialogues between the teacher (*vāttiyar*) and the student (*cisan*), following the recitation of each prayer as a kind of simple hermeneutic appendage, grows in the course of the text from a classroom drill to an inquisitorial questioning. The basic method (*murai*) of the doctrine, translated as *vaṇakkam,* which technically means salutation, is the ladder (*yeni*), as Henriques explained: "By this ladder our deeds climb from this earth to heaven and stand before God (*tampirāṉ*) and our deeds speak for us."[84] The language of the deeds that spoke to tampirān was obviously Tamil, while each and every step climbed on this spiritual ladder was made of words, words to be memorized, as the student says, "in our lotus hearts (*yirutaiy tāmaṟaikkuḷ*) . . . in order to remove bad thoughts and bad behaviors."[85]

Tampirāṉ vaṇakkam and, even more so, *kiricittiyāṉi vaṇakkam* remain tied to the Portuguese and Latin "originals," but at the same time, the end result of the translational movement is the creation of interven-

ing spaces, imperceptible and secret at first, in which newly planted words ripen and assume meanings of their own. Linguistic conversion cannot happen suddenly; it takes place between the two breaths needed to pronounce the *Padre nosso* in the title and the *vāṉangaḷil/irukkiṟa/engaḷpitāve* that followed. The problem (or the solution) is that once on the other side, or outside of itself, according to Loyola's spiritual vocabulary, the convert, that is, the Tamil language in this case, begins a new life of its own. This is precisely the moment in which paradoxically the Jesuits won the battle and lost the war. First of all, from around the 1560s, the Paravas contributed money directly for the upkeep of the Jesuit mission. They paid the salaries of the church employees, bought new "ornaments" for the altars, and financed the printing of at least some of Henriques's books.[86] In the preface to the *kiricittiyāṉi vaṇakkam* an interesting (and symptomatic) circle of spiritual and secular (i.e., financial) involvement between the missionaries and their converts is disclosed: "You have desired to have several books which will teach you and your descendants the path to heaven and therefore you have contributed large sums of money towards the press. Therefore we are giving you this book as a gift."[87]

Converts who desire and are ready to pay for a "gift" of a (Christian) book are obviously the ideal missionary products. Parava demand, according to Jesuit letters, surpassed missionary supply. Thus the churches were crowded, and there was a lack of qualified confessors.[88] In the years to come, the Jesuits also recorded with wonder and gratification the extraordinary enthusiasm for confession among their Parava converts.[89] The *Confessionairo,* printed in Cochin in 1580, and the *Flos sanctorum,* in 1586, were offered, therefore, to the audience of devoted Parava Christians who fervently demanded fortifying pious literature and probably also paid the printing costs. Resounding with the converts' desires for "explanation," "consolation," and "method," these texts contain "standard" doctrinal Tamil vocabulary established and fixed earlier. And while untranslatable words from Portuguese and Latin and proper nouns continue their sheltered presence between diamond-shaped shields, the rich worlds of cultural adaptation open on the pages of these two exceptional books—the two longest printed texts in a non-European language (and script) to have come out of the sixteenth-century European printing presses in Asia. These two works are, in fact, both witnesses and instruments of a "second" conversion, that is, the conversion that occurs when the translated utterance is made to act on

and discipline the mind and the body of the converts. Christian Tamil in print is, therefore, made to do what it says.[90] In the *Confessionairo* it probes forcefully into the convert's mind in order to test and purify his or her inner will or intention. Besides the psychological dislocations in which it operates, the *Confessionairo* also functions as a protoregulatory document, containing laws and defining penal, legal, and moral jurisdiction within the Parava caste organization. In this respect it is perfectly complementary to the *Flos sanctorum,* in which ethical, theological, and community principles pose as accomplished narrative events, as overinflated exempla of correct behavior, righteous thinking, and spiritual edification. Through figures, plots, and legends universally known in the Christian West, Henriques, and through him his Parava informants, told stories about their own local Christian (or not) world. If Henriques turned the three magi into Tamil kings (*mūvi rācākkaḷ*), it was no simple linguistic adaptation (or conversion). The behind-the-scenes ramifications were much more important: they enabled Paravas to establish for themselves a "royal" lineage that reflected both their enhanced status in the region as a Portuguese client pearl-fishing and -trading community and their place in local South Indian political and social networks. By the time the three Tamil kings entered the holy city of *vellem* (Belem, Betlehem), almost nothing except the diamond-shaped shields remained of the Portuguese language and of the linguist imperialism envisaged by João de Barros.

Conversion: Arresting the Work of Returning

As the three Tamil kings reached and themselves experienced—with the help of Henriques's textual time machine—the moment and the site at which Christianity originated, the break with European and Portuguese spiritual guidance was accomplished. According to de Certeau's explanatory "rectangle," as soon as they were positioned within Christian history (*temporality*) and Christian narrative (*writing*), the Tamils necessarily and simultaneously acquired Christian *identity* and Christian *consciousness.*[91] From the "barbarian" state to which the writers of the *Cartilha* had assigned Tamil language (and culture), the *Flos sanctorum* and the *Confessionairo* converted it into modern vernacular, as qualified and capable of handling Christian concepts as any other. In this scheme of things, Latin or Portuguese words could continue to function

as vestiges of sacred utterances—to be learnt by heart and invoked for ritual or liturgical occasions—or as the memorial stones (padrões) of an imaginary linguistic possession. Parava Christian culture and imagery would, henceforth, develop within its own semantic field, guided by its own imperatives.

The Jesuits' gift to their Parava converts of the book, or rather the gift of printing in their own language and script, arrested the "work of returning," which is, according to de Certeau, one of the principal operators of ethnographic (ethnocentric) production. Ignatian spiritual conversion proceeds with exactly the same ethnographic logic. Endlessly transforming/translating the "out there" into "over here," this regressive, narrative, descriptive, and cognitive movement divides as much as it bridges the distance; it poses as "hermeneutics of the other" but brings home only the simulacra of the same. And yet Henriques's translations, in fact, bring nothing back home—they leave everything "out there" in Tamil for the Tamils and, whether it was intended or not, they relinquished control over the written/printed word of the receptor language. What was repatriated, or rather repatriable, was the Jesuit Tamil grammar, returning to where it originated—into the rules of the Portuguese or Latin grammar—but remaining endlessly unfinished and imperfect. On the other hand, the conversion of the Paravas was completed by the end of the sixteenth century with undoubted success, since they are the oldest Catholic community in Asia and still thriving. The perfect translation/conversion from Portuguese to Tamil appears to necessitate a sacrifice of the former. The Jesuit missionaries discovered early enough that the source language has to be renounced in order for the receptor language to produce freely its own signification, imagery, cognitive patterning, and esthetic and religious identity. The strategic, economic, and political inability of the Estado da Índia and the padroado to prevent the gradual erosion of the Portuguese language in the Asian missionary fields made this linguistic sacrifice even easier.

Epilogue

Tropical Textures

The First and the Last Malabar Jesuit: Pero Luís Bramane

In more than one way, Pero (or Pedro) Luís Bramane is an exceptional Jesuit figure whose vita spans almost the whole Jesuit sixteenth century in India, and in him we can see the elegant self-undermining (and braiding together) at work of two cultures in contact: the karaṇam culture of the Indian elite and the Jesuit elitist European culture.

What is known of Pero Luís Bramane's long and, up to a point, successful Jesuit career in the sixteenth century are bits and pieces of information scattered through the correspondence of his coreligionists and through his five extant letters. He was born to a Brahman family near the southern town of Kollam (Quilon) on the western shore of the Indian peninsula. Kollam was a famous and rich town of which European and Arab travelers spoke with admiration.[1] Part of its fame came from the sale of pepper; another part, at least for the Europeans, from the "fact" that St. Thomas the Apostle had visited the town and had built a church there. The circumstances under which and reasons why a young Brahman boy converted at the age of fifteen and was baptized as Pero Luís are lost in historical silence. We know that his brother, his sister, and his nephews also converted to Christianity after he had already joined the Society of Jesus. In fact they harried him, before and after their own conversion, to help them find jobs as *línguas* (interpreters) for the Portuguese. This he did, and while he dutifully asked for favors on their behalf, he clearly expressed his annoyance at their persistent requests.

As a Jesuit, he had to break the familial bonds, but of course, as a missionary and as an Indian, he was in a position in which his connections with the gentiles were of a strategic value. Finally, he himself was employed as a língua by the Jesuits as soon as he converted. Conversion

was, therefore, a full package for a young Brahman boy. And this was often the case in individual conversion since it involved social death in the former community. What we can guess is that he and his family were brought in touch with the Portuguese very early in his life. They all spoke a few local languages and Portuguese. Although they did not, strictly speaking, belong to the karaṇam communities described by Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, they were part of the high-caste literate community mobilized by the new possibilities of a rapidly expanding political universe. This, of course, is not the whole story. One could argue the opposite, that is, that high-caste Brahmans like Pero Luís came from families discredited due to economic and social disintegration. The truth may be somewhere in between. The karaṇam worldview privileged men of relatively humble extraction but from the traditional elite groupings.[2] Both an impoverished literate Brahman and an aspiring, multilingual, literate, mobile, and politically smart non-Brahman took their chances with the centers or institutions of power that required their services.

When, sometime around 1547, the Jesuits employed this young Brahman boy as an interpreter, he was most probably already proficient in Portuguese or was simply quick to learn, in addition to having received at least a rudimentary traditional Brahmanical education. We know that he spoke both Malayalam and Tamil.[3] From the start, the Jesuits considered him a convenient companion cum língua. He accompanied various Jesuit superiors on their visits and shuttled back and forth along the Malabar coast as the need arose. His popularity was a mixed blessing since he was not able to study uninterruptedly at the St. Paul (or Santa Fé) seminary for the native boys in Goa. Besides working with lesser-known early missionaries in India, he was also esteemed by important famous and infamous Jesuits like Antonio Criminali, Henrique Henriques, and António Gomes.

While Antonio Criminali sent him from the Fishery Coast to the College of St. Paul to study and encouraged him to join the Society of Jesus, António Gomes took him out of the college to be his interpreter at the court of the king of Tanur. Both Criminali and Gomes subsequently perished, one in grace and the other in disgrace, as shown in chapters 3 and 4. Pero Luís Bramane survived until the end of the sixteenth century and fulfilled his dreams, although not without a great deal of perseverance and a certain amount of luck.

Pero Luís Bramane was fortunate because, during the first two

decades, the Society of Jesus had been ruled by two generals, Ignatius of Loyola and Diogo Laínez, who favored admitting Indians to the Society of Jesus—and not only Indians but also converted Jews, Muslims, and other "heathens." Laínez was himself born into a New Christian family. This open policy, however, progressively closed during the sixteenth century. Pero Luís Bramane joined the Society of Jesus in 1561, when he was thirty years old, and remained the first and the only Indian in the annals of the "Old Company."[4]

All was not simple chance in his life. From his first to his last letter preserved for posterity in the Jesuit Roman archives, we sense his ambition, intelligence, and self-confidence. In 1559, his campaign for admission reached its apogee with a letter by Dom Gonçalo de Silveira, the former provincial of the Indian province and a future Jesuit martyr in Monomotapa. This is what he wrote to Laínez about "Pero Luís malavar" of "good desires": that he was "besides being dark, according to the climate, although not altogether black, upright, of good intelligence [*ingenio*], calm, prudent, and for all who give him orders he is eager and facile."[5]

At the same time, in November of 1559, Pero Luís Bramane wrote a letter himself directly to the general, in which he framed his own persona by way of subtle markers, as if he were de facto (if not de jure) already a Jesuit.[6] His beginning is dramatic, with the fires of hell brought straight before the eyes of the reader. "I am a young man, son of a gentile Brahman (who are like religious among us Christians), and I have a father and mother and relatives who are pagans before the door of Hell, from whence God saved me."[7]

It is worth looking closer into the opening sentence of this vita. There are two elements that Pero Luís juxtaposed in a significant way in order to promote his own case. The first is his claim that the Brahmans were religious or the priests among the Indians. The between-the-lines assumption of a certain conditional equation between the Brahmans and the Catholic priests is rather obvious and became a topos in Jesuit narratives. What Pero Luís was specifically hinting at was the fact that becoming a Christian priest after conversion was somehow his birthright. It was a good try, and in fact, the idea did not sound strange to Jesuit and Portuguese ears. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Goa and elsewhere, Brahmans and high castes were considered the only natives admissible to priesthood.[8] The second element was clearly his "election" by the divine agency Himself. Or rather, he was kidnapped

by the invisible hand of the Celestial Father and deposited in the hands of the terrestrial fathers, while his biological father was already nothing more than a pile of ashes.

From the time of his conversion, Pero Luís lived with the Jesuits portas adentro, that is, in close intimacy, as if he were one of them.[9] His curriculum vitae was truly impressive since he had associated with the Portuguese and Jesuit elite and for four years (between 1554 and 1559), he stated, he had been learning (Latin) grammar, rhetoric, and logic. By this time he had already spent half of his life with the fathers and obviously felt that he was one of them. And yet he was made to understand that admitting him was "a new thing and not habitual."[10] Pero Luís was obviously aware of his exceptional position, of occupying an "interstitial" place, and he played discursively with his self-chosen hybridity and "exoticism" for his own personal purpose and good.[11] That he knew the rules of the game perfectly is revealed in the second part of the letter, where he wrote about his desires. In the Jesuit systematic reenactment of psychological codification, desire is the prime mover of the narrative action and of its effects. According to Loyola's *Constitutions,* to feel desire is a tangible sign of election and of grace. This was well-known to Pero Luís, who openly wrote about his own zeal and aspirations in a paragraph that appears to follow a regular taxonomy of Jesuit missionary desires: first to be admitted as a full-fledged member (not just as a língua) into the Society of Jesus and then to be sent to the "infidel" lands as a missionary. This much is no surprise. And yet one does not need to apply a special stratigraphic reading technique to catch a glimpse of difference. What Pero Luís really wanted to do was to visit Rome. Nicolò Lancilotto envisaged sending him to Europe in 1553, but the plan was abandoned because the Portuguese did not favor such visits.[12]

Thirty years later, Alessandro Valignano was persuaded that sending young Japanese Jesuits to Rome to get a feel for metropolitan *christianitas* and to assimilate a certain distance from their own culture were crucial for confirming them in their faith and for broadening their cognitive horizon. The project turned out to be excessively costly, and it was decided to send them to Macau instead.[13] Goa was as good as, if not better than, Macau for getting to know European habits and customs. However, from the middle of the sixteenth century, this Portuguese tropical outpost, the Golden Goa, was increasingly perceived as a corrupt place given to all imaginable vices.[14]

Ardent desires are good, but obedience and abnegation are even better in the Jesuit grammar of experience and affect. Thus, he closed his letter with the statement of his complete indifference to the Jesuit superiors' decision whether or not to admit him to the Society of Jesus.[15] Submission did not mean a lack of projection into the future for Pero Luís, who already unhesitatingly saw himself as an ordained priest and who demanded certain special privileges in advance: permission to read a particular breviary, permission to absolve special cases of conscience, and requests for indulgences and pardons.

One of the most impressive facets of the first letter addressed by Pero Luís to the Jesuit Curia in Rome is its skillful and, one may say, modern manipulation of temporality. He used past, present, and future tenses in a clearly linear succession, and he wove together his personal teleology with the missionary universal goal of converting the whole of Asia to Christianity. The Jesuits cherished learned converts to Christianity because they were considered frontier extensions and bulwarks against the pagans and infidels. There were, however, two problems with them. The first was they were hard to get; the second was that the Iberian world forever suspected them of insincerity and inconstancy.[16] It might have been pure coincidence, but in the same letter approving the candidature of Pero Luís Bramane, Juan de Polanco, the secretary to General Laínez, informed Luís Gonçalves da Câmara, the provincial of the Lusitanian province, that the Curia would not be sending Giovanni Battista Eliano (Romanus) to India. This famous Jewish convert was needed in Rome to teach Hebrew and Arabic.[17] It might sound farfetched, but it is not improbable that Pero Luís Bramane was something of a consolation prize for the Indian province.

According to the Jesuit catalogues for 1561, Pero Luís started his novitiate training at the College of St. Paul in Goa, but he continued to be sent "on loan" to the missions that needed his linguistic help. Thus, in 1562, he was with Henrique Henriques on the island of Mannar, employed in the ministry of confession. Earlier, in Negapatão (Nagappattinam on the Coromandel Coast), Pero Luís helped Henriques with the *Vocabulário Malauar* and the *Arte Malauar,* both of which were important manuals for teaching Tamil to the Jesuits.[18] In 1564, he was back at the College of St. Paul in Goa, where he continued his studies and worked at the same time as "doorman."[19] Three years later he was on the Fishery Coast with Henriques again and involved in teaching Tamil with the help of the *Arte Malauar.*[20] For the next seven years, until

1575, Pero Luís is mentioned year after year as a humble but important member of the mission group of (on the average) nine fathers and two brothers. There is not a single complaint against him in the Jesuit correspondence, while his devotion and labors are always highlighted. He specialized in confession ministry and in preaching.[21] His Passion sermons apparently worked wonders among the Christians, who cried out loud and took discipline (self-flogging), and "even the Portuguese who did not know the language cried because they saw people crying and hitting themselves."[22]

He had ability to move people, but all this without being a formally ordained priest. In January of 1572, he was allowed to write the annual report from the mission on the Fishery Coast. It is an exemplary letter in which the miraculous and the pragmatic appear to coordinate the lives of the community of Christian fishermen. Switching between the first person plural (i.e., "we desire") and the third person singular when he wrote about himself and his deeds, Pero Luís unfolded for his audience the cultural geography of this famous Jesuit utopia. On the one hand, the Christians were fervently devoted to their priests, churches, sacred images, and sacraments. Miraculous healing and escapes from danger that syncopate the narrative were extolled as special divine rewards for this young christianitas. At the same time, Pero Luís described in detail the disciplinary machine put in place by the Jesuits. Every aspect of spiritual, juridical, and economic organization seems to have been tightly ordered and controlled by the Jesuits. The Parava community was structured in relation to the church and the Jesuit fathers. Those members who had the status of *devotos* (disciples of the fathers) were groomed as a new Christian elite. On Friday they prayed and did spiritual "practices," and on Sunday evening they had a "party meeting" during which they publicly denounced problems and quarrels in the community and freely expressed their doubts or questions about the faith. These men were then chosen for various community services and duties, such as overseeing discipline in the villages or levying taxes on pearl fishing, as well as managing hospitals and collecting alms.

Spirituality, charitable works, and money from pearls intersect in the exemplary history of the Parava communal conversion.[23] Pero Luís caught a slice of this history with the eye of both an insider and an outsider. One almost wonders to what extent his double identity helped the fathers to identify so perfectly the key institutions and the inner working of social hierarchy and "to accommodate" them in Christianity. For

example, the church took over the role of the South Indian temple, which was recognized as the sacred, financial, and charitable center of the community. "They give offerings and pay for masses," wrote Pero Luís, "which they used to give to idols and demons."[24] The Jesuits also succeeded, not only on the Fishery Coast but everywhere in coastal India, in tapping into and exploiting an important psychological conduit in South Indian culture—possession.

An ocean of anthropological ink has already been spilled to explicate this religious manifestation, often defined as a premodern manner of dealing with psychological and communal disorders. South Indian "relational" divinities and devotional traditions (*bhakti*) are replete with the energy of possession, which flows between humans and the gods. What this energy helps to embody and articulate is a word—of distress, of complaint, of threat. Through a possessed person—defined as a mere vessel of a divine or demonic power—the truth or an opinion can be spoken out clearly. It is a word of resistance given to those the community disenfranchises, such as women, the mentally deranged, and outsiders. Possession is also a profession by which shamans and mediums offer solutions and advice to those who need them. Therefore, possession is never taken lightly and takes on a certain ambiguous social prestige.

Although it may not be easy to reconstruct exactly how the Jesuit missionaries managed "to naturalize" and tame this high-voltage cultural practice and substitute something seemingly completely different, their success was beyond their own expectations. The surrogate possession reemerged in confession—the most respectable expression of Catholicism and especially emphasized after the Council of Trent. From the 1560s on, the Jesuit ministry of confession overflowed with people eager to relieve their souls of any minor sin. Women in particular, according to the Jesuits, became inflamed with the zeal to confess frequently. A special confraternity of the *devotas* had to be established and had its regular meetings on Tuesday evening, a day marked out in the Hindu calendar as the day of the goddess. It is worth stressing that the most powerful divinity who descends on her devotees and makes them dance in trance is the goddess, or the female divinity, which in South India has as many names as there are temples, shrines, and holy spots.

The question, again, is to what extent Pero Luís Bramane, partaking of both cultural idioms, helped in this first phase of missionary reconnoitering to canalize these various, at first sight incompatible, stances

into a common, Christianized conduit. We may never know, and given that in other missions along the Malabar Coast the confession craze grew in intensity as well, he was obviously not the only one to advise the fathers. Nevertheless, his opinion was probably decisive on more than one occasion, and experienced missionaries like Henrique Henriques cherished his presence in the mission. All these valiant missionary labors delayed Pero Luís's professional ambitions. In the 1570s, he was already over forty and had been a member of the Society of Jesus for fourteen years, but he had not yet fulfilled all the requirements for priesthood. Documents are lacking to tell us what exactly happened in 1574, when Alessandro Valignano decided to recall him from the missions and to have him continue his studies in Goa.[25] By the end of 1575, he was still on the list of students at the College of St. Paul, and a year later, in 1576, a capital *P* finally preceded his name. He had become a padre.

Most probably, Alessandro Valignano pushed for his rapid ordination for a special reason. Around that time, a new mission was being put in place among the St. Thomas Christians in the *Serra* (the mountains), in the hinterland east of Cochin, for which Pero Luís was more than qualified. As a Brahman by birth, a priest by profession, and a native speaker of Malayalam, he was a perfect candidate for this mission among these ancient and somewhat particular Christians. The purpose of the Jesuit implantation was to reduce them to obedience to the Catholic Church and to clean up the Nestorian "errors" in their Chaldean liturgy. After a few years in the mission, during which time he visited all major towns where St. Thomas Christians lived, Pero Luís came to the conclusion that "nobody confesses the error if not conquered in conscience or forced. Since we do not have force, the other is necessary, and for that money is needed."[26] What Pero Luís meant by the conquest of conscience is nothing less then the introduction of the method of accommodation, which Valignano had worked out around this time for the Japanese mission. The idea, therefore, was in the air, and one of the irritating features of this method of conversion, often advanced in the later centuries as an argument against it, was that it was very expensive.

Pero Luís had calculated that with eight fathers who knew the language—he probably meant Malayalam—and with one thousand pardãos (a year) conceded to the mission, the whole St. Thomas Christian population could be quickly reduced to obedience.[27] In his fund-raising invective, he pointed to those "rich, rich Cardinals" in Rome who

should give some money to serve Christ, he said, just as he, Pero Luís, who was "a black man with pierced ears and whose dead parents were in Hell," worked for Christ's cause in India.[28] By turning himself into a stereotype (with his body marked by the signs of pagan savagery), he was using this rhetorical reversal to promote and profit from his own exceptional position among the Jesuits. Whether the cardinals were moved by his impassioned plea, we do not know, but money remained scarce, and the Jesuit relationship with the St. Thomas Christians deteriorated rapidly.

Pero Luís himself did not last all that long in the mission. Sometime around 1585, he was caught in a struggle between opposing political factions near the town of Parur and was slashed and left to die in an ambush. He managed to survive, though, and was relocated to the mission territory farther south, on the Travancore Coast, where he died ten years later. Although always characterized as docile and mild in his behavior, by the time he was around sixty and considered old and decrepit, he had become less patient with his European coreligionists.

One of the reasons for his restlessness and his "choleric" outbursts, as he explained in a letter to General Acquaviva, was that he had been "the only Malabar son of the Society."[29] There was no reason, he claimed, not to admit the natives of India into the Society of Jesus since there were many "able people here and among St. Thomas Christians." Concerning rumors about a dissolute life led by Malabar clerics, he said, "God is my witness how other nations live." Whatever the case, his solitary voice was not heeded, and he remained the only Indian to be admitted into the Society until its dissolution in 1773.

Different religious orders had different policies at different times concerning the recruitment of Indian, Japanese, Chinese, or other Asian members. As a rule, with a few honorable exceptions, non-Europeans were all considered second-class Christians. The reason for this was not their lack of fervor and devotion to Christian faith but rather their culture. The distinction between religion and culture was far from clear-cut in the Jesuit mind, and the fact that the Protestants increasingly underscored the rupture between the two in order to criticize Catholicism made Jesuit choices difficult. This is precisely what happened to Roberto Nobili, who defined cultural and ritual practices that we today call *Hinduism* not as a religion but as mere civil customs, and he had to defend himself against accusations of being too permissive toward idolatrous practices.

The Dangers of the Cultural Tropics

The tragic irony, from the Jesuit point of view, is that ultimately what was said about Hinduism would be said about Catholicism, that it is nothing but customs, habits, and rituals and thus not too different from popular superstition. The question is, then, how did this fateful reversal occur? How did Catholicism, the "true religion," start to be perceived as superstition? One of the most obvious reasons resides in the proliferation of the "objectifying" and "reifying" perspectives of one's own cultural and religious experiences prompted by the ever-closer encounters with those of the others.[30] These changes gathered momentum beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing throughout the seventeenth and gave rise to the category of religion in its modern, unified, and universalizing meaning.[31]

What we witness in the Jesuit missionary writings and theological speculations of the early modern period is therefore an epistemological cuisine that transformed plural religious experiences into some sort of systematic, well-bound, and well-baked divisions. The concept of religion as a normative paradigm was yet to be forged—in complex and still insufficiently researched transcontinental negotiations—in order to enclose Catholicism and all other "religions," for example "Hinduism," in stable frameworks.[32] The starting point for Jesuit missionaries in India in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was the concept of heathenism (*gentilidade*), which allowed for unpredictable local diversity. Monstrous superstitious practices and admirable vernacular piety and fervor were discussed in detail and in wonder in the early Jesuit accounts. It was after the 1570s—when the Jesuit linguistic offensive, characterized by intensive learning of indigenous languages, uncovered fragments of what were considered indigenous sacred texts and traditions—that the notion of a separate and more or less unified Indian religion began to take form. It was Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso, a Jesuit missionary bearing very modest intellectual baggage, who ventured close to attaching a personalized name to particular religious practices of the Brahmans in Madurai. In his treatise written in 1616, he described under the heading *Bramanismo* a series of prescriptive life-cycle ceremonies and thus added the first *ism* to an Indian word in an effort to turn it into a concept. It was a solitary effort and without immediate followers. A usual way of defining non-Christian religious practices was with words like *lei* (law), *seita* (sect), and *fée* (faith). *Re-*

ligio is only rarely used interchangeably with these terms, but never in the modern sense of a specific, unified religion.

In spite of this cognitive incapacity to conceive of non-Christian religious practices and sensitivity as another religion, since the notion had not yet been tailored to fit the Christian religion, the Jesuits had already assimilated a conception of Brahmanical overarching religious dominance. Roberto Nobili's famous dictum—"hi populi unum habeant civilem cultum, religionem vero multiplicem"—has been understood as a clear statement pointing to the existence of religious diversity.[33] The problem is that all his statements were part of a defensive argument and are therefore often exaggerated and contradictory. In addition, the "religion" in question does not quite mean religion in its modern use as religious system but rather as a lump of superstitions. Finally, his main point was to show that the Brahmanical customs all belong to "civil cults" and contain nothing religious or superstitious. In the last instance, all Indian "idolatry" could thus be defined as nothing more than messy social practices. According to the Jesuit authors, with an appropriate redirection of their interior spiritual energy, their *intentio,* these practices could be tolerated even within the Christian system. For example, according to the Jesuit ritual alchemy, if one performs whatever rite with the firm intention in one's heart of worshiping the "true God," all idolatry in the act may be annulled.

This, obviously, is a very thin line separating idolatry from *latria,* demonic illusions from Christian religion. The will and the ardent desire to convert the whole world brought the entire Jesuit enterprise to the brink of religious dissolution. That the boundaries between Christianity and Indian "gentility" were seriously confounded was the diagnosis shared by the Catholic Church and Protestant missionaries in India in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The problem was not that the results were less than meager after two centuries of sustained efforts at Christianization. It was rather the realization that the successful Christian communities in India resembled European models less and less. They were "tropicalized." They donned their old clothes of gentility again and rewrote and rewove their own cultural textures in a way only vaguely reminiscent of the Christian idiom. What I propose to call *tropical Catholicism* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is, therefore, the result of continuous, mostly Jesuit, proselytizing efforts predominantly in the coastal area of southern India. It grew by transgressing boundaries and generated a good deal of anxiety and a sense of loss

on all sides involved in the encounter. But also, and this is important, it gave rise to a sense of gain (economic, social, spiritual, etc.). But in the process of local appropriation, Christianity followed the old as well as some new social configurations and splintered into smaller, culture-bound divisions of communities of converts. Thus, Parava Christians might have discovered that they had very little in common with Goan Christians or Madurai Christians. In a word, local traditions succeeded in encompassing, or to use our tropical metaphor, in engulfing and growing over Christian universals.

In Lisbon and Rome, those opposed to the Jesuits criticized this hybrid Christianity as a monstrosity and provoked the Malabar rites quarrel, closely connected, of course, with a similar but not identical Chinese rites quarrel. No one knew to what extent to permit this *indigenization* or *inculturation,* as it is alternatively called in modern missiological literature. The immediate consequence of this Gordian knot was that the sword fell squarely on the Jesuit neck. With the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773, the question was resolved without resolution at least for some time. The unruly religious hybridity had to be stopped, but it was too late to be effective because the new actors, the British, had arrived on and captured the scene and, with them, the tug-of-war of cultural translation changed the demeanor radically.

The tropical boundaries—from the climate and sex to religious practices—continued to produce anxiety about identification and about the integrity of the colonial self in India. In the early modern period, the Portuguese and the Jesuits in particular endeavored to open these boundaries through conversion, intermarriage, food, and medical adaptation. Their success was a failure, according to their successors in Goa and in the missions. The porosity of cultures celebrated by the Jesuits was not enshrined in the modern colonial ideology. The British colonial enterprise and the Protestant missionaries of various denominations, who followed in the Jesuits' missionary tracks, perceived the tropical boundaries as enclosures over which they had a divinely ordained and providential right to rule. But again, the Indian "tropical" flora from both below and above engulfed all British cultural, social, and economic projects. The story of the Imperial Tropics may thus begin. At this point, however, I leave it to others.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Some of the inspiration for thinking tropically came from two classic statements: Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques* (Paris, 1955); and Hayden White, *The Tropics of Discourse, Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London, 1978).

2. For an interesting take on some of these issues in Brazil at roughly the same time, see Ronald Vainfas, *Trópico dos Pecados: Moral, Sexualidade e Inquisição no Brasil.* Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fonteira, 1997.

3. Michel de Certeau, "La formalité des pratiques: Du système religieux à l'éthique des Lumières (XVIIe–XVIIIe s.)," in *L'écriture de l'histoire* (Paris, 1975).

4. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times, India (1541–45),* translated by J. Costelloe, S.J., 4 vols. (Rome, 1973–82).

5. It might be more precise to say European historians. Since French academia provided the most fertile ground for the development of the group, I call it French. See Luce Giard, ed., *Les jésuites à la Renaissance, Système éducatif et production du savoir* (Paris, 1995); and Luce Giard and Louis de Vaucelles, eds., *Les jésuites à l'âge baroque,* 1540–1640 (Grenoble, 1996). See also articles in the thematic issue of the *Revue de synthèse* entitled "Les Jésuites dans le monde moderne, nouvelle approches," 2–3 (Apr.–Sept. 1999).

6. These ideas were developed by Bruno Latour for a different but structurally similar historical context. Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).

7. Dipesh Chakraborty, *Provincializing Europe, Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, 2000).

8. This was one of the conclusions presented by Carmen Salazar-Soler about Alvaro Alonso Barba (an innovator in mining techniques) in Peru at the seminar in the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris on Mar. 13, 2003.

9. Very recently, a new wave of young Portuguese historians still in the process of writing their first books are about to change this situation. See Ângela Barreto Xavier, "A Invenção de Goa: Poder Imperial e Conversões Culturais nos Séculos XVI e XVII" (PhD dissertation, European University in Florence, 2003).

10. The work of Sanjay Subrahmanyam, a versatile and prolific historian of this period and region, is an exception.

11. The reason for omitting some important missions, such as the mission(s) at the Mughal court and the mission among St. Thomas Christians in Kerala, is that they deserve separate studies. See my abbreviated historical overview entitled

"Compromise: India," in *A Companion to the Reformation World* (Oxford: Blackwell Companions to European History, 2003).

12. Nicholas Standaert, "Christianity as a Religion in China: Insights from the *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume One (635–1800)*," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* (Paris) 12 (2001): 7–8.

13. Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India, 1600–1800* (New Delhi, 2001).

14. Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nayaka Period Tamilnadu* (New Delhi, 1992).

15. Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures* (Cambridge, 1985) (French original *Chine et christianisme* [Paris, Gallimard: 1982]).

16. See Standaert's critique in "Christianity as a Religion."

17. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994); and George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (Oxford, 1975; reprint, 1992).

18. Carmen Salazar-Soler defined *effervescence* as a sudden burst of innovative energy that may or may not develop into a permanent quality. Presentation at a seminar at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris (Mar. 13, 2003).

19. The "first" Society of Jesus (1540–1773) is often simultaneously stigmatized and lauded for bringing about the de-Christianization of the world. See Jean Delumeau, *Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris, 1971), 326. On de-Christianization as a Christian practice, see Michel de Certeau, "The Formality of Practices: From Religious Systems to the Ethics of Enlightenment (the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries)," in *The Writing of History* (originally *L'écriture de l'histoire* [Paris, 1975]) (New York, 1988), 179.

20. Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus,* translated, with an introduction and a commentary, by George E. Ganns, S.J. (St. Louis, 1970). See also John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits, 1540–1565* (Cambridge, MA, 1993).

21. Some unsuccessful Jesuit careers ended either in dismissal or in madness. See Michel de Certeau's important work on Jesuit mystics of the seventeenth century in *La Fable Mystique* (Paris, 1982). See also Certeau's various editions of the Jean-Joseph Surin's oeuvre, such as *Triomphe del'amour divin sur les puissances de l'enfer, 1653–1660,* preface by Michele de Certeau (Grenoble, 1990).

22. Francis Xavier, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta* (1535–52), edited by G. Schurhammer, S.J., and J. Wicki, S.J. (Rome, 1944; reprint, 1996), vol. 1, 127. (hereafter *EX*).

23. White, *The Tropics of Discourse.* The tropological theory of discourse, according to White, is a privileged way to understand the working of the conscience. In a similar move, I proposed a fourfold scheme for the Jesuit epistolographic competence in my *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in the Seventeenth-Century India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999).

24. The offspring of a Portuguese settler-merchant, a *casado* (a married man), and an Asian woman is called *mestiço*, or *mestiça,* if it was a girl.

25. Ana Cannas da Cunha, *A Inquisição no Estado da Índia: Origens (1539–1560)* (Lisbon, 1995), 252–53. His *auto-da-fé* ("act of faith," in fact public execution) was reported in a letter written by the *bacharel de medicina* Jerónimo Dias, who was himself a New Christian. In it, he vehemently denounced the influx of the New Christians to the Asian colonies. At the next pre-Inquistion auto-da-fé, in 1543, Dias was also burned at the stake for the crime of "Judaizing."

26. Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India,* edited by Rodrigo José de Lima Felner (Lisbon, 1864), 4:292–93.

27. Ibid., 4:288–89.

28. Ibid., 4:289. In the same chapter, Correa used at least two more variants of the same name: *mordexy* and *morexy.* See also Fortunato Coutinho, *Le régime paroissial des diocèses de rite latin de l'Inde des origines (XIV siècle) à nos jours* (Louvain, 1958); Luís de Albuquerque, *Martim Afonso de Sousa,* Biblioteca da Expansão Portuguesa (Lisbon, 1989); and Georg Schurhammer, "Cartas de Martim Afonso de Sousa," in *Orientalia* (Gesammelte Studien, vol. 2), IHSI/Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarino (Rome and Lisbon, 1963), 185–205.

29. Dom Gaspar de Leão Pereira, *Carta do primeiro Arcebispo de Goà a pouo de Israel seguidor ainda da ley de Moises, & do talmud, por engano & malicia do seus Rabis,* [*a preface to the*] *Tratado qve fez mestre Hieronimo, medico do papa Benedicto.* 13. *Cõtra os judeus: em que proua o Messias da ley ser vindo, Impresso em Goa por Ioão de Endem, por mandado do senhor Arcebispo da India,* 10 (no date on the frontispiece; according to Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana [1741–1759],* CD-ROM, this book was printed in Goa, Sept. 20, 1565).

30. See the case of one of the victims of Sylveira's pogrom in José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "From Setúbal to the Sublime Porte: The Wanderings of Jácome de Olivares, New Christian and Merchant of Cochin (1540–1571)," in *Sinners and Saints: The Successors of Vasco da Gama,* edited by Sanjay Subrahmanyam (New Delhi, 1998), 135–61. Some of Sylveira's letters concerning the Cochin affair are published in Joseph Wicki, S.J., *Documenta Indica* (henceforth *DI*), vol. 3 (Rome, 1954). See also Nicolas Godigno or Godinho, *Vida del Bienaventvrado Padre Gonzalo de Sylueria, Sacerdote de la Compañia de IESVS, martirizado en Monomotapa, Ciudad en la Cafraria. Traducida de Latim en Castellano por Bernardo de Cienfuegos. Dirigida a Don Luis de Sylueira, Conde de Sortella, Guarda mayor de su Magestad, Señor de la villas de Goes, Oliuera de Conde, Currelos, Slauis, Sangian, Panela, &c.* (in handwriting—Collegio de Euora, 4.off. 100), Año 1614. Con privilegio. En Madrid, Por Luis Sanchez, impressor del Rey nuestro señor.

31. Ana Cannas da Cunha, *A Inquisição no Estado da Índia: Origens (1539–1560)* (Lisbon, 1995), 134–40; and Gonçalo de Sylveira to the provincial in Lisbon, Goa, ca. 19 Dec., 1557, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (ARSI), Goa 10 II, fol. 424r.

32. Luís Filipe Thomaz, "A Crise de 1565–1575 na História do Estado da Índia," *Mare Liberum* (Lisbon) 9 (1995). In a document written in 1569 by Dom

Jorge Temudo, the archbishop of Goa, the idade dourada was applied for the first time to the period of Albuquerque's reign. See Joseph Wicki, S.J., "Duas Relações sobre a situação da Índia Portuguesa nos anos de 1568 e 1569," *Studia* (Lisbon) 8 (1961): 123–221. Diogo do Couto, *O Soldado Prático,* edited by M. Rodrigues Lapa (Lisbon, 1937).

33. Garcia da Orta, *Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas he Cousas Medicinais da India* [. . .] (Goa, 1563) (facsimile edition by Academia das Ciências de Lisboa) (Lisbon, 1963). I quote from the annotated edition by Conde de Ficalho, published in 1891 and reprinted in 1987. See my article "Drugs, Health, Bodies and Souls in the Tropics: Medical Experiments in Sixteenth-Century Portuguese India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 39, no. 1 (2002): 1–43.

34. On *luso-tropicalismo* and its creator, a Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1900–1987), see Cláudia Castelo, *"O modo português de estar no mundo": O luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933–1961)* (Porto, 1998).

35. Gilberto Freyre saw the mixing of Islam and Catholicism as a positive contribution to Portuguese character. Just as Islam "humanized" Catholicism and made it more "lyrical," Muslim and pagan customs such as polygamy added sensuality and enhanced sexuality to the Portuguese psychological makeup. On the other hand, all the "bad" strands found in Portuguese character, such as legalism, juridical mysticism, and mercantilism were attributed to Jewish influence. Gilberto Freyre, *Caza-grande senzala: Formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal* (Lisbon, 1957), 189–275.

36. Charles Amiel and Anne Lima, *L'inquisition de Goa: La relation de Charles Dellon (1687)* (Paris, 1997), 71.

37. More of a surprise is the fact that, according to Amiel and Lima, although the Judaizers represent only 9 percent of those who were put to trial, they represent, at the same time, 71 percent of those who were condemned to burn at the stake. Many of them were not burned in person, but rather in effigy. Ibid., 72.

38. The case of Anna Espanholim, the wife of Governor Manuel Sousa Coutinho (1588–91). See Fátima da Silva Gracias, *Health and Hygiene in Colonial Goa (1510–1961)* (New Delhi, 1994), 10; and António Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa, tentativa de história da sua origem, estabelecimento, evolução e extinção* (Lisbon and Coimbra, 1930), vol. 1:317.

39. See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History* (London, 1993), 80–106; Subrahmanyam, "The Trading World of the Western Indian Ocean, 1546–1565: A Political Interpretation," in *A carreira da Índia e as rotas dos estreitos,* edited by Arturo Teodoro de Matos and Luís Filipe Thomaz (Angra, 1998), 207–27; and Luís Filipe Thomaz, "A Crise de 1565–1575 na História do Estado da Índia," *Mare Liberum* (Lisbon) 9 (1995).

40. On the concept of connected histories, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–62; and Subrahmanyam, "Du Tage au Gange au XVIe siècle: une conjoncture millénariste à l'échelle eurasiatique," *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales,* 56th year, no. 1 (Jan.–Feb. 2001): 51–84.

41. Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's "History of Sexuality" and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC, 1995), 16.

42. Ângela Barreto Xavier confirms this in her doctoral dissertation: "A Invenção de Goa."

43. Parava or Bharatar community, Susan Bayly (née Kaufmann), "A Christian Caste in Hindu Society: Religious Leadership and Social Conflict among the Paravas of Southern Tamilnadu," *Modern Asian Studies* 15, no. 2 (1981): 203–34. And Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings* (Cambridge, 1989); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Noble Harvest from the Sea: Managing the Pearl Fishery of Mannar, 1500–1925," in *Institutions and Economic Change in South Asia*, edited by Burton Stein and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 134–72 (New Delhi, 1996); Jorge Manuel Flores, *Os Portugueses e o Mar de Ceilão* (Lisbon, 1998); A. Civacuppiramaṇiyaṉ, *Paratavarkaḷiṉ naṭṭar maruttuvam, navaviṉ araycci*, I, I, Oct. 1985, Tuttukkuṭi; and by the same author, *Paratar kalveṭṭuc ceytikaḷ*, no place or date.

44. See chap. 6.

45. On Antonio Rubino's unsuccessful mission at the Vijayanagara court in the early seventeenth century, see Joan-Pau Rubies, "The Jesuit Discovery of Hinduism: Antonio Rubino's Account of the History and Religion of Vijayanagara (1608)," *Archiv für Religonsgeschichte* 3 (2001): 210–56.

46. Gomes, António to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Oct. 25, 1949 ARSI, Goa, 10I f: 107r. According to António Gomez the Jesuit missionaries hoped for a lot of fruit in Japan because the people were white and the land was cold.

47. *EX*, 2:22. "These regions are difficult because of the big heat in summer and winds and water in winter, although it is never cold."

48. On Jesuit intellectual baggage containing refurbished scholastic and Thomist concepts, see Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton, 1991); and Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, 1982).

49. *DI*, 10:983–84.

50. *DI*, 1:245–48.

51. Ambroise Paré, *Des monstres et prodiges* (Paris,1579), edited by Jean Geard (Paris, 1971).

52. See my *Disputed Mission.*

53. See Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and "The Mystic East"* (New Delhi, 1999).

54. The banyan tree with its branches growing back into the ground is a much-used metaphor to designate Indian religion and social structure.

55. For a contemporary anthropological view, see Robert S. Newman, *Of Umbrellas, Goddesses and Dreams: Essays on Goan Culture and Society* (Mapusa, 2001).

56. Serge Gruzinski, "Les mondes mêlés de la Monarchie catholique et autres 'connected histories,'" *Annales* 56th year, no. 1 (Jan.–Feb. 2001): 85–117; and Gruzinski, *La pensée métisse* (Paris, 1999), 51.

57. Gruzinski, *La pensée métisse*, 39–40. See also Nathan Wachtel, *La vision des vaincus, Les Indiens du Pérou devant la Conquête espagnole* (Paris, 1971).

58. On de Certeau's conception of transformative violence that leaves nobody unchanged, see Luce Giard, "Epilogue: Michel de Certeau's Heterology and the New World," *Representations* 33 (winter 1991): 216.

59. See Gruzinski, "Les mondes mêlés."

60. Sanjay Subrahmanyam pointed this out by comparing it to the flow of bullion that, in spite of its global reach in the sixteenth century, affects different regions differently, Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories."

61. See chap. 3.

62. A. A. Roest-Crollius, S.J., "What Is So New about Inculturation?" *Gregorianum* 59, no. 4, 1978, 721–38; Raymond Joly, "Inculturation et vie de foi," *Spiritus* 26, no. 98 (1985): 3–31; and Catherine Clémentin-Ojha, "Indianisation et enracinement: les enjeux de 'l'inculturation' de l'Église en Inde," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême—Orient* 80.1 (1993): 107–33.

63. Robin H. S. Boyd, *India and the Latin Captivity of the Church: The Cultural Context of the Gospel* (Cambridge, 1974); and Joseph Mattam and Kim Sebastian, *Mission and Conversion: A Reappraisal* (Mumbai, 1996).

64. Exceptionally, some Indians were admitted in the early sixteenth century, like Pero Luís Bramane, but the practice was discontinued shortly afterward until the eighteenth century. Today the Indians are the largest "nationality" in the Society of Jesus. On the other hand, the Indian government stopped issuing visas for missionary purposes in 1965. See Josef Wicki, S.J., "Pedro Luis Brahmane und erster indischer Jesuit (ca.1532–1596)," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 6 (1950): 115–26; and A. Brou, "Notes sur les origines du clergé indigène au pays Tamoul," *Revue d'histoire des missions,* 7th year, no. 2 (June 1930): 188–210.

65. See A. Shourie, *Missionaries in India, Continuities, Changes and Dilemmas* (New Delhi: HarperCollins, 1998).

66. On the goddess in South India, see Jackie Assayag, *La colère de la Déesse décapitée: Traditions; cultes et pouvoir dans le Sud de l'Inde* (Paris, 1992); Yuko Nishimura, *A Study of Mariyamman Worship in South India: A Preliminary Study of Modern South Indian Village Hinduism* (Tokyo, 1987); Sarah Caldwell, *Oh Terrifying Mother: Sexuality, Violence and Worship of the Goddess Kali* (New Delhi, 1999); and Masakazu Tanaka, *Patrons, Devotees and Goddesses* (New Delhi, 1997) (1st ed. 1991).

67. Matias Ferenz and Brigitte Sébastia are about to finish doctoral theses on the subject. Brigitte Sébastia, "Māriyamman-Mariyamman: Catholic Practices and Image of Virgin in Velankanni (Tamil Nadu)," *Pondy Papers in Social Sciences* no. 27 (Pondicherry, 2002). See also Paul Younger, "Velankanni Calling: Hindu Patterns of Pilgrimage at a Christian Shrine," in *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage,* edited by Alan Morinis (London, 1992).

68. Subaltern studies, initiated by the historians of South Asia, easily conquered other territories such as Latin American and African historiography. See Florencia E. Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *American Historical Review* 99 (Dec. 1994): 1491–1515; and Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *American Historical Review* 99 (Dec. 1994):

1516–45. See also Ilena Rodrígues, ed., *The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

69. Gauri Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity, and Belief* (Princeton, 1998), 16; and Gerald Studdert-Kennedy, *Providence and the Raj: Imperial Mission and Missionary Imperialism* (New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, and London, 1998).

70. Geoffrey A. Oddie, *Hindu and Christian in South-East India* (London, 1991), 147–48.

71. Wendy James and Douglas H. Johnson, *Vernacular Christianity: Essays in Social Anthropology of Religion Presented to Godfrey Lienhardt* (New York, 1988).

72. M. N. Pearson, "First Contacts between Indian and European Medical Systems: Goa in the Sixteenth Century" in *Warm Climates and Western Medicine: The Emergence of Tropical Medicine, 1500–1900,* edited by David Arnold, Wellcome Institute Series in the History of Medicine (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1996), 20–41; and Pearson, "The Thin End of the Wedge: Medical Relativities as a Paradigm of Early Modern Indian-European Relations," *Modern Asian Studies* 29, no. 1 (1995), 141–70.

73. Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws,* 1748, English translation by D. W. Carrithers (Berkeley, 1977).

74. "After much careful thought I can discover no other reason except caste which accounts for the Hindus not having fallen into the same state of barbarism as their neighbors and as almost all nations inhabiting the torrid zone. . . . Such an institution was probably the only means that the most clear-sighted prudence could devise for maintaining a state of civilization amongst a people endowed with the peculiar characteristics of the Hindus," in Abbé J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* (Oxford, 1906; New Delhi, 1992), 28–29. See Sylvia Murr, *L'Inde philosophique entre Bossuet et Voltaire, l'indologie du Père Coeurdoux: stratégies, apologétique et scientificité,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1987).

75. R. H. Grove, V. Damodaran, and S. Sangwan, *Nature and the Orient* (New Delhi, 1998); and R. H. Grove, *Ecology, Climate and Empire: The Indian Legacy in Global Environmental History, 1400–1940* (New Delhi, 1998).

76. Henrique Henriques, *Flos sanctorum eṉṟu aṭiyār varalāṟu,* edited by S. Rajamanickam (Tuticorin, 1967), 1. The original (342 folios) is kept in the Vatican Library.

77. This is still far from the procedure called *figurism* that came into vogue in the eighteenth century. Its basic tenet was that the Old and New Testament events and prophecies were embedded in immemorial Hinduism. All one had to do was to rescue them from corruption. W. Halbfass, *India and Europe: An Essay in Understanding,* translated from German (New York, 1988), 36–53.

78. See White, *The Tropics of Discourse.*

79. *Tamil Lexicon,* vol. 3 (Madras, 1982), 1753.

80. See Roberto de Nobili, S.J., *Robert de Nobili, L'Apôtre des Brahmes, Première apologie. 1610,* edited by P. Dahmen, SI, Bibliothèque des Missions, Mémoires et documents (Paris, 1931) (original and translation of the "Respon-

sio ad ea quae contra modum quo nova Missio Madurensis utitur ad ethnicos Christo convertendos obiecta sunt" [ARSI, Goa 51, fols. 125–44], appendix—"Responsio ad censuram RR. PP. Antonii Fernandez et Francisci de Vergara").

81. See Jesuit Tamil manuscripts in the State Central Library in Panaji (Rare Books Department), such as Antão de Proença, *Vocabulario Tamulico Lusitano precedido de uma Arte em Tamul e seguido da termos poeticos* (M-34); *Vocabulario Thamulico Luzitano para uso Aos Missionarios da Companhia de JESV,* Composta, e augmentada pello P. Domingos Madeyra da mesma companhia, Missionario na Missão de Madurej, Anno, 1750 (M-37); and *Arte Tamulica* composta pello Pe. Balthazar da Costa da Comp. a de JESV, Segue-se *DOUTRINA CHRISTÃA* (M-49). See also Gregory James, *Tamil Lexicography* (Tübingen, 1991); and Gregory James, *Colporul: A History of Tamil Dictionaries* (Madras, 2000).

82. Anand Amaladass and Richard Fox Young, *The Indian Christiad* (Gujarat, 1995); and Bror Tiliander, *Christian and Hindu Terminology: A Study in Their Mutual Relations with Special Reference to the Tamil Area* (Uppsala, 1975). For example, the Jesuit missionaries at the court of Akbar felt similarly that Persian was the most perfect language, and in China, the same was thought for Mandarin. In 1861, one of the greatest Sanskritists of all times, M. Monier-Williams, wrote that "the exuberance and flexibility of this language and its power of compounding words, that when it has been, so to speak, baptized and thoroughly penetrated with the spirit of Christianity, it will probably be found, next to Hebrew and Greek, the most expressive vehicle of Christian truth," in M. Monier-Williams, *The Study of Sanskrit in Relation to Missionary Work in India* (London, 1861), 54.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Sebastião Gonçalves, S.J., *Primeira Parte da História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus e do que fizeram com a divina graça na conversão dos infieis a nossa sancta fee catholica nos reynos e provincias da Índia Oriental* (1614), edited by Joseph Wicki, S.J. (Coimbra, 1957), 1:45 (original in Biblioteca Nacional Lisbon, *Fundo Geral,* MS 915, 428 ff. and 17 ff.; other unpublished original manuscripts in [1] Paço de Ajuda [Lisbon], codex 49-4-51, 252 ff. and 3 ff. and [2] ARSI, Goa 37, 297 ff.).

2. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*. The work itself, according to the author, was the result of a promise he made to the saint when he visited Goa in 1910. See Schurhammer, "S. Francisco Xavier e a sua época," *Studia* (Lisbon) 12 (July 1963); Manuel Teixeira, S.J., "Vida del bienaventurado Padre Francisco Xavier," in *Monumenta Xaveriana* (henceforth *MX*) (Matriti, 1912), 2:815–918; Horatius Tursellinus, S.J., *De Vita Francisci Xaverii* (Rome, 1594) (2nd ed. 1596); João de Lucena, S.J., *História de vida do padre Francisco de Xavier* (Lisbon, 1600), facsimile edition, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1952); and Petrus Possinus, S.J., *S. Francisci Xaverii e Societate Iesu Indiarum Apostoli Novarum Epistolarum Libri Septem* (Rome, 1667). On Alessandro Filippucci, see *EX*, 1:92*–100*.

3. For example, João de Lucena strove to connect the life story of Xavier with that of Vasco da Gama in order to produce a purely Portuguese history of Catholic expansion in Asia. Lucena, *História de vida.*

4. de Certeau, *L'écriture de l'histoire,* 287.

5. Pedro de Ribadeneyra, S.J., *Vita Ignatii Loiolae, Societatis Iesu fundatoris,* Naples, 1572. The biography, printed in 1572, had been completed in 1569.

6. D. Fernández Zapico, S.J., and C. de Dalmases, S.J., *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola* (Rome: MHSI, 1951), 2:381–82; and Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* vol. 1, 339.

7. J.-J. Robrieux, *Eléments de Rhétorique et d'Argumentation* (Paris, 1993), 178.

8. See an early work on race relations by C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415–1825* (Oxford, 1963). On the connection between the figure of an Ethiopian and the practice of the slave trade, see S. B. Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understanding; Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, 1994), 8. For the medieval topos of the black Ethiopian, see J. da Silva Horta, "A representação do Africano na literatura de viagens, do Senegal à Serra Leoa (1453–1508)," *Mare Liberum* (Lisbon) 2 (1991): 233.

9. On this topic, see, for example, Ernst van den Boogaart, "Colour Prejudice and the Yardstick of Civility: The Initial Dutch Confrontation with Black Africans, 1590–1635," in *Racisim and Colonialism,* edited by R. Ross (Leiden, 1982), 33–54; and P. D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa* (Madison, 1973), 363–88.

10. A persuasive case for collective othering is argued by M. L. Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (autumn 1985), 120.

11. The slave trade added another important dimension to the racialist and racist notions. Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge, 2003), 5–12.

12. Jourdain Cathala de Séverac, a Dominican, was the first to hint in the medieval bestseller *Mirabilia descripta,* written in 1326 (first published in Paris in 1839), that Prester John and the king of Ethiopia were one and the same person. English translation in Friar Jordanus, *Mirabilia Descripta,* translated by H. Yule, *The Wonders of the East* (London, 1863).

13. J. Aubin, "Le prêtre Jean devant la censure portugaise," a chapter in his *Le latin et l'astrolabe, Recherches sur le Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales* (Lisbon-Paris, 1996); and Francisco Álvarez, *A verdadeira Informação das terras do Preste João das Indias,* 2 vols. (Lisboa, 1540; reedited, Lisbon, 1989). See also André Ferrand de Almeida, "Da demanda do Preste João à missão jesuíta da Etiópia: a cristandade da Abissínia e os portugueses nos séculos XVI e XVII," *Lusitania Sacra* 11, 2nd series (1999): 247–94; and Manuel João Ramos, "The Invention of a Mission: The Brief Establishment of a Portuguese Catholic Minority in Renaissance Ethiopia," in *Dominant Culture as Foreign Culture: Dominant Group(s) in the Eyes of the Minorities,* edited by J. Mucha (New York, 1999).

14. Hervé Pennec, *Des jésuties au royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): Stratégie, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation (1495–1633)* (Paris, 2003).

15. Godigno or Godinho, *Vida del Beinaventvrado Padre Gonzalo de Sylueria.* See also Bertha Leite, *D. Gonçalo de Silveira* (Lisbon, 1946).

16. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* vol. 1, 387.

17. For the medieval period, see a fundamental work by A. Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome, 1988).

18. For a brief discussion of Ignatian *más, magis,* see J. W. O'Malley, *Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century: Preaching, Rhetoric, Spirituality and Reform* (Aldershot, 1993), chap. 9, p. 12.

19. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:45–46.

20. Lucena, *História da vida,* vol. 1, 40; and Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 728.

21. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:286.

22. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Das wahre Bild des Hl. Franz Xaver (zum 3 Dezember)" and "Las fuentes iconográficas de la serie javeriana de Guasp," in *Varia, I Anhänge* (Rome and Lisbon: BIHSI, 1965), 213–15 (with six pages of pictures) and 599–604 (with ten pages of pictures).

23. J. Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis,* translation (New York and London, 1978), 58.

24. *Monumenta Ignatiana, Scripta de S. Ignatio* (henceforth *MI Epp*) (Matriti, 1904), 1:570–71.

25. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 1:727.

26. C. Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother, Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982).

27. J. Le Brun, "Politique et spiritualité: la dévotion au Sacre Coeur à l'époque moderne," *Concilium* 69 (1971): 25–36.

28. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:287. *Jaculatórias* were brief and fervent prayers during the observance of novenas in particular.

29. de Certeau, *L'écriture de l'histoire,* 281.

30. Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1982), 137–38.

31. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (Cambridge, 1998), 127.

32. E. Allison Peers, ed., *The Complete Works of Teresa of Avila,* 3 vols. (London, 1944–46).

33. R. Bainton, *Bernardino Ochino: Esule e riformatore del Cinquecento* (Florence, 1940).

34. Ignatius of Loyola, *Constitutions,* 238 (const. 527). See also O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 299.

35. Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), 88.

36. For further reading, see John Bossy, "The Social History of Confession," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 25, 5th series (1975): 21–38.

37. See my *Disputed Mission.*

38. Jean Delumeau, *La peur en Occident* (Paris, 1978).

39. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 300; Mario Scaduto, "La strada e i primi gesuite," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (henceforth *AHSI*) 49 (1971): 323–90; and John C. Olin, "The Idea of Pilgrimage in the Experience of Ignatius Loyola," *Church History* 48 (1979), 387–97.

40. Loyola, *Constitutions,* 238 (const. 527).

41. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 298.

42. Ignatius of Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises,* (New York, 1948), no. 23.

43. B. J. Verkamp, *The Indifferent Mean: Adiaphorism in the English Reformation to 1554* (Ohio University Press/Wayne State University Press, 1977).

44. Ignatius of Loyola, *Ecrits* (Paris, 1991) (Letter 4), 635.

45. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 1:555–56.

46. Loyola, *Constitutions,* 83 (const. 15) and 117 (const. 130).

47. See a stimulating article by P.-A. Fabre, "Autorité et décision: fondations scripturales de l'institution gouvernementale de'Ignace de Loyola" (presentation at EHESS, Jacques Derrida's seminar, Paris, 1992).

48. Roland Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola,* translation (Johns Hopkins University, 1976).

49. Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises,* no. 186.

50. Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola,* 48.

51. It is perhaps not without interest that the Inquisition suspected Loyola of nurturing certain affinities with Alumbrados. Alumbrados or Illuminati is a name assumed by some mystics who appeared in Spain in the sixteenth century and claimed to have direct access to God. They were condemned as heretics and persecuted by the Inquisition.

52. Fabre, "Autorité et décision."

53. T. K. Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1975).

54. Luís Filipe Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisbon, 1994), 189–206. For a more recent take on the subject of millenarianism, see Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories," 735–62; and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Du Tage au Gange," 51–84.

55. Alvaro Velho, *Roteiro da Primeira Viagem de Vasco da Gama,* edited by Neves Águas (Lisbon, 1987), 54; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire,* 59; and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge, 1997), 129.

56. *EX,* 1:124.

57. *MI Epp,* 12:343–44; and O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 300.

58. Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire,* 91.

59. Ibid., 74; and Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 2:181 and 213.

60. The non-Portuguese population was estimated at fifteen thousand. On travel and ethnographic literature, see Joan-Pau Rubies, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge, 2000).

61. Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India, from the old English translation of 1664, by G. Havers,* edited by Edward Grey (London, 1892; reprint, Madras, 1991), 1:157.

62. John Huyghen van Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies,* edited by A. C. Burnell, from the old English translation of 1598 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1885; reprint, New Delhi, 1988), 1:189.

63. Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten,* 1:183–217.

64. Abbé Carré, *The Travels of the Abbé Carré in India and the Near East, 1672–1674,* translated by Lady Fawcett (New Delhi, 1990), 1:214.

65. Amiel and Lima, *L'inquisition de Goa.*

66. C. R. Boxer, *João de Barros: Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia* (New Delhi, 1981), 91.

67. Dejanirah Couto, "Luís de Camões et Garcia da Orta," in *Goa, 1510–1685: L'Inde portugaise, apostolique et commerciale* (Paris, 1996), 185. *Disparates da India* means roughly *Indian Follies.*

68. Linschoten also described the process of degeneration of the Portuguese race in the tropics.

69. *EX,* 1:35; and Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 1:617.

70. *EX,* 1:42.

71. *EX,* 1:87.

72. *EX,* 2:99.

73. *EX,* 1:189.

74. *EX,* 1:239.

75. *EX,* 1:281–82. The citation from the Bible is Ps. 68:29.

76. This letter was called *hijuela* (little daughter).

77. *EX,* 1:260–78.

78. On the martyrs of Manna, see Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 2:471–72.

79. Schurhammer, *Francix Xavier,* vol. 2:533.

80. José de Acosta thought that the miracles were more appropriate for Asia than for Latin America. See José de Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute,* in Spanish in his *Obras del P. José de Acosta,* edited by F. Mateos, vol. 73 in *Biblioteca de autores españoles* (Madrid 1954), 2.9. See also MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes,* 261–70.

81. Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire,* 130.

82. *EX,* 1:242.

83. Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, 1969; reprint, 1977), 95.

84. *EX,* 1:257.

85. *EX,* 1:135.

86. The first three missionaries were two Italians, Antonio Criminali and Nicolò Lancilotto, and a Spaniard, *DI,* 1:30*.

87. *EX,* 1:248–55.

88. *EX,* 2:537 n. 72.

89. *DI,* 1:90–107.

90. Only nine Jesuits ultimately arrived, all of whom remained missionaries in Asia until their deaths. Of the six Franciscans, one died in Chaul in 1547, and three returned to Portugal in 1548. *DI,* 1:95.

91. Anthony D'Costa, *The Christianization of the Goa Islands* (Bombay, 1965).

92. *EX*, 1:134.

93. The "native" student body in the college in 1546 consisted of sixteen *canarás* (from villages around Goa), six *malavares*, six *totucurins* (Paravas from Tuttukkuti), six students from Melaka, six from the Moluccas, six *chyns* (from China), six from Bengal, six from Peguu (Lower Burma), six from *siões* (Siam), six *guzerates*, eight *abixins*, and six to eight *caffres* from Sofala, Mozambique, the island of São Louremço, and other places. They were aged thirteen or more because it was thought that they might forget their native tongues if institutionalized earlier. The goal was to send them back to minister in their own language to their own people. *DI*, 1:118–19. On Gomes's dismissal of the native boys, see *DI*, 1:10. In the long run, Gomes's actions were condemned. Xavier dismissed him from the Society, and he died in a shipwreck on his way back to Portugal, determined to plead his case. See chap. 3.

94. *EX*, 2:22.

95. Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten*, 1:208.

96. *EX*, 1:346.

97. See João de Eiro's story in *MX*, 2:378–80*.

98. *EX*, 1:300.

99. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História*, vol. 1, 189.

100. I. G. Županov, "The Prophetic and the Miraculous in Portuguese Asia: A Hagiographical View of Colonial Culture," in *Sinners and Saints: The Successors of Vasco da Gama*, edited by S. Subrahmanyam (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).

101. *MX*, 2:378*.

102. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História*, 1:188; and Lucena, *História de vida*, 1:188.

103. See chap. 2.

104. José Pereira da Costa, "Gaspar Correa e a lenda do apóstolo S. Tomé," in *II Seminário internacional de história Indo-Portuguesa, Actas*, edited by Luís de Albuquerque and Inácio Guerreiro (Lisbon, 1985), 862.

105. H. Hosten, S.J., *Antiquities from San Thomé and Mylapore* (Madras, 1936), 229–50.

106. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História*, 1:139; and *EX*, 2:96.

107. Mt 25:20, "And he that received the five talents came and brought another five talents, saying Lord, thou deliverest unto me five talents: lo, I have gained another five talents."

108. *EX*, 1:421.

109. Jesuits, in fact, became "capitalist" entrepreneurs in order to survive in Asia. See Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, "Negócios e convivências dos jesuítas de Goa no século XVIII: contributo para a sua história," in *A Companhia de Jesus e a Missionação no Oriente* (Lisbon, 2000), 235–58; Maria Manuela Velez Blanco, "Notas sobre o Poder Temporal da Companhia de Jesus na India," *Studia* (Lisbon) 49 (1989); Charles J. Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542–1759: An Explanation of Their Rise and Fall* (New Delhi, 1994); Borges, "The Portuguese Jesuits in Asia: Their Economic and Political Networking within Asia and with Europe," in *A Companhia de Jesus e a Missionação no Oriente*

(Lisbon, 2000), 203–24; and Artur Teodoro de Matos, "Assets and Income of the Religious Orders in Goa at the end of the 16th Century," in *Discoveries, Missionary Expansion and Asian Cultures,* edited by Teotonio R. de Souza, 151–57 (New Delhi, 1994).

110. *EX,* 2:56.

111. *EX,* 2:87.

112. *EX,* 1:418–22.

113. *EX,* 1:466.

114. *EX,* 2:61.

115. *EX,* 2:148.

116. *EX,* 2:404–5.

117. *EX,* 1:438.

118. *EX,* 2:229.

119. *EX,* 2:223.

120. See his account of the journey from Melaka to Japan on the boat of a Chinese *Ladrão* (thief). *EX,* 2:179–86.

121. *EX,* 2:155.

122. *EX,* 2:166–212.

123. John C. Olin, *Catholic Reform: From Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent, 1495–1563* (New York, 1990), 12.

124. Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other* (Minneapolis, 1986), 88.

125. Loyola, *Ecrits,* 693–701.

126. *EX,* 2:196.

127. Loyola, *Ecrits,* 323.

128. *MI Epp,* 1:180; and Loyola, *Ecrits,* 166.

129. See O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 112. He claims that Loyola often used a Spanish proverb that advised "going in by the door in order to come out by ours." On the other hand, it seems that Loyola never wrote down this formula. See Nicholas Standaert, "La manière ignatienne: S'adapter aux autres; une méthode ambigue," *Cahiers de spiritualite ignatienne* 68 (1993).

130. *EX,* 2:90.

131. *EX,* 2:96.

132. *EX,* 2:98–99.

133. *EX,* 2:105.

134. *EX,* 2:226.

135. *EX,* 1:433 and 435.

136. *EX,* 2:220.

137. *DI,* 1:759. See also D'Costa, *The Christianization.*

138. M. de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays of Montaigne,* translated by Donald M. Frame (Stanford, 1965), 139.

139. *EX,* 2:263.

140. *EX,* 1:388.

141. *EX,* 2:88.

142. Certeau, *La Fable Mystique,* 188.

143. Loyola, *Constitutions,* 170, const. 304.

144. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 342–44.
145. *EX,* 1:279.
146. *EX,* 1:135.
147. *EX,* 1:258–59.
148. *EX,* 1:329–30. Before 1546, the spiritual and temporal coadjutors were not considered as belonging to the Society of Jesus. This situation changed with the brief *Exponi nobis* of June 5, 1546. *MI Constitutiones,* (Rome, 1934), vol. 1:170 and Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 3:133.
149. In addition, Xavier dismissed quite a number of Jesuits in Asia on the pretext of maintaining the highest of standards for the members of the Society of Jesus. See, for example, *EX,* 2:7.
150. *EX,* 1:13.
151. *EX,* 2:79.
152. *DI,* 1:30.
153. *EX,* 2:347.
154. *DI,* 1:139–40 and 2:5.
155. Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy,* 137–38.
156. *EX,* 2:61, 194, and 197.
157. *EX,* 2:194.
158. *EX,* 2:112 and 347.
159. *EX,* 1:308–9 and 2:112–13.
160. For different and rather hagiographic interpretations of Loyola's recall of Xavier, see Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 4:673–74; and R. Garcia-Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid, 1986), 959–61.
161. *DI,* 3:3–4.
162. *DI,* 3:670.
163. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:427–49. Also in *MX,* 2:909–11; and Lucena, *História de vida,* vol. 2:902–4.
164. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:429
165. *DI,* 3:117. The other Jesuit brother was João Bravo, *MX,* 2:911–12.
166. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:428; and João Maneul Pacheco de Figueiredo, "S. Francisco Xavier (Tentativa de um estudo médico-historico)," in *Revista de Cultura* (Macau, 1988), 83. According to Figueiredo, Ambrósio Ribeiro changed his testimony for the canonization inquiry by stating that the wound was on the lefthand side by the heart.
167. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:428
168. On defining the concept of *communitas* see Turner, *The Ritual Process.*
169. Gonçalves fleshed out the picture by adding body liquids to Xavier's remains. "They found him *inteiro, solido e cheo de summo e de sangue, lançando de sy cheiro suavissimo.*" Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:420.
170. *DI,* 3:77.
171. *DI,* 3:176–77.
172. *MX,* 2:453–54, 491, and 511–12.
173. Francisco de Sousa, S.J., *Oriente conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da província de Goa,* 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1710; Porto, 1978), 606.

174. Ibid., 604.
175. Ibid., 606.
176. Ibid., 605.
177. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:419 and 448.
178. Georg Schurhammer, "Xaveriusreliquien," in *Varia* (Rome, 1965), 345–46.
179. Georg Schurhammer, "Der Silberschrein des Hl. Franz Xaver in Goa: Ein Meisterwerk Christlich-Indischer Kunst," in *Varia* (Rome, 1965), 560–66; and Carla Sodini, *I Medici e le Indie Orientali* (Florence, 1996).
180. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:516.
181. Ibid., 1:517.
182. Schurhammer, "Xaveriusreliquien," 347.
183. António Bocarro, *O livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoacões do Estado da Índia Oriental* (Lisbon, 1992), 2:261.
184. Ibid., 2:271–72.
185. ARSI, JapSin. 18, fol. 255.
186. Besides *namban,* another name, *Tenjikujin* (men of India), was applied to the Portuguese newcomers to Japan. See R. P. Toby, "'Indianness' of Iberia and Japanese Iconographies," in *Implicit Understanding, Observing, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era,* edited by S. B. Schwartz (Cambridge, 1995), 324.
187. J. W. Hall, Nagahara Keiji, and Kozo Yamamura, eds., *Japan before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500 to 1650* (Princeton, 1981); C. R. Boxer, *Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (London, 1941; reprint, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974); and Fr. M. Teixeira, *A Precious Treasure in Coaloane: The Relics of Japanese and Vietnamese Martyrs* (Macau, 1980), 7.
188. Teixeira, *A Precious Treasure,* 9–13.
189. Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints.*
190. Sousa, *Oriente conquistado,* 38. Italics in the quotation are mine.
191. ARSI, Goa 34, fol. 415. Published in *MX,* 2:778–79.
192. See a letter by António de Azevedo to the general, Goa, 1713, ARSI, Goa 9, fol. 490v.
193. João Maneul Pacheco de Figueiredo, "S. Francisco Xavier," 87; and Filipe Neri Xavier, *Resumo histórico da maravilhosa vida, conversões e milagres de S. Francisco Xavier,* 2nd ed. (Nova Goa, 1861), 2:336.
194. M. J. Gabriel de Saldanha, *História de Goa (Política e arqueológica),* vol. 2 (Bastorá, 1926; reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1990); and J. N. da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archeological Sketch of the City of Goa* (Bombay 1878; reprint 1994).
195. Richard F. Burton, *Goa and the Blue Mountains or Six Months of Sick Leave* (London, 1851; reprint, New Delhi, 1991), 68–69.
196. For a feminist analysis of Burton's interests in the carnal practices of the "Orientals," see Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient* (Indiana, 1986).
197. Burton, *Goa and the Blue Mountains,* 68.
198. For the mid-nineteenth-century social and political upheaval in Goa, see

Luís Filipe Thomaz, "Goa: Uma sociedade Luiso-indiana," in *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisbon, 1994), 245–89.

199. Fonseca, *An Historical and Archeological Sketch,* 300.

200. *A Souvenir: XV Solemn Exposition of the Relics of St. Francis Xavier; 21 Nov. '94 to 7 Jan. '95; For the Family . . . for Society . . . . for God!* (Panjim, 1994).

201. Ibid., 5. *Darshan* is the term used for the Hindu god's vision of the devotee and the devotee's vision of the god.

202. Goa Rémy, *Rome de l'Orient* (Paris, 1955).

203. "After praying in the church of Bom Jesus, every Portuguese can fight against 10 or against 1000 [enemies]." Rémy, *Rome de l'Orient,* 273.

204. M. N. Pearson, *Portuguese in India* (Cambridge, 1987).

205. C. Fuller, *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India* (Princeton, 1992).

CHAPTER TWO

1. According to the version given by João Nunes, a former prisoner and exile (*degredado*), to the Muslim merchant from Tunisia, Monçaide, or Bontaibo (probably Ibn Tayyib) and that was reported by Portuguese chroniclers. The identity of these first two actors and the scenario of the fateful encounter when Vasco de Gama's flotilla arrived are still unconfirmed. See Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend,* 128–29.

2. The appellation St. Thomas Christians appears for the first time in the account of Jean de Marignolli's (1348) voyage to the East. Anastasius van den Wÿngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* (Quaracchi, 1929), 1:544–45; and Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1866, 2 vols.; London, 1913–1916) 2:342–45 and 3:217. The Portuguese propagated its use (*cristãos de S. Tomé*) during the sixteenth century.

3. Thomaz Luís Filipe, "L'idée impériale manueline," in *La découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe,* edited by Jean Aubin (Paris, 1990), 35–103; and Jean Aubin, "L'ambassade du Prêtre Jean à D. Manuel," *Mare Luso-indicum* 3 (1976): 1–56. The messianic movement of this period was present among Christians, Jews, and Muslims: see Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend,* 55–56.

4. A. M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India: From the Beginning up to the Fifteenth Century (up to 1542),* (Bangalore, 1989); N. Figueiredo, ed., *Saint Thomas, the Apostle in Mylapore, Three Documents* (Madras, 1934); T. K. Joseph, *Six St. Thomases of South India* (Chengannur, 1955); Jarl Charpentier, *St. Thomas the Apostle and India* (Uppsala, 1927); and F. A. D'Cruz, *Thomas the Apostle in India* (Mylapore, 1929). For a brief history of Mylapore before and after the "discovery" by the Portuguese, see Lotika Varadarajan, "San Thome—Early European Activities and Aspirations," in *Il Seminário internacional de história Indo-Portuguesa, Actas,* edited by Luís de Albuquerque and Inácio Guerreiro (Lisbon, 1985), 431–41. See also Rubies, *Travel and Ethnology.*

5. See the detailed and erudite article by Luís Filipe Thomaz, "A lenda de

S. Tomé Apóstolo e a expansão portuguesa" *Lusitania Sacra* 3, 2nd series (1991), 349–418.

6. Susan Bayly claimed, without furnishing sufficient evidence, that the Portuguese sponsored the discovery of the apostle's tomb in Mylapore and its promotion to the status of major pilgrimage center in order to weaken the authority of the Nestorian primates ministering to the St. Thomas Christians in Kerala. Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings,* 259–60.

7. This theme has already been approached from an economic point of view in an excellent article by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Profit at the Apostle's Feet: The Portuguese in 16th century São Tomé de Meliapor," in *La découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe* (1988; Paris, 1990), 217–33 (reprinted in Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal, 1500–1700* [Delhi, 1990]).

8. Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy;* Brown, *The Cult of the Saints;* and Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman World* (Cambridge, 1995).

9. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints,* 50–68.

10. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 1:739.

11. da Costa, "Gaspar Correa," 851–68; and "Regimento de Diogo Lopes," Feb. 13, 1508, AN/TT, CC, I-6-82, in Afonso de Albuquerque, *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque,* edited by R. A. Bulhão Pato and H. Lopes de Mendonça (Lisbon, 1900) 2:403–19.

12. See *Voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral to Brazil and India,* translated by Willam Brooks Greenlee (London: Hakluyt Society, 1938; New Delhi, 1995), 49; and Elias Lipiner, *Gaspar da Gama: Um Converso na Frota de Cabral* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987), 139. See also Luís Filipe Thomaz, "A 'politica oriental' de D. Manuel I e suas contracorrentes," in *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisbon, 1994), 189–206. On the millenarian movement in a larger perspective on early modern history, see Subrahmanyam, "Du Tage au Gange," 51–84.

13. Charles-Martial de Witte, "Un projet portugais de reconquête de la Terre Sainte (1505–1507)," *Actas do Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses* (Lisbon) 5, no. 1 (1961): 419–48.

14. Since Yusuf 'Adil Khan died in October 1510, the final battle against Albuquerque was lost by his son Adil Shah or Idalxá in Portuguese. On Portuguese relations with the kings of Bijapur, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Notas sobre um rei congelado: O caso de Ali bin Usuf Adil Khan, chamado Meallecão," in *Passar as Fronteiras,* edited by R. M. Loureiro and S. Gruzinski (Lagos, 1999), 265–90.

15. The private merchants, whom the Estado da Índia regarded as being on the verge of "illegality," are also called, for example, *chatins, lançados,* and *desorelhados.*

16. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "'Um bom homem de tratar': Piero Strozzi a Florentine in Portuguese Asia, 1510–1522," *Journal of European Economic History* 16, no. 3 (1987), also in his *Improvising Empire.*

17. Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e Viaggi* (Turin, 1979), 2:32.

18. Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy,* 225.

19. Duarte Barbosa, *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa,* edited by Maria Augusta da

Veiga e Sousa (Lisbon, 2000), 2:258–66. For an English translation, see Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa,* translation by M. L. Dames (London: Hakluyt Society, 1921; Millwood, NY: Kraus, 1967), 2:98–101and 126–29.

20. São Sebastião, or Cape Saint Sebastian, is located north of Cape Corrientes—the southernmost point that the Arab merchants had reached by the time of the Portuguese discovery. See Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa,* 1:3.

21. "E que o Samto Apostolo dysera que ao tempo que o mar chegasse a sua casaa vyryam gemtes bramquas a esta tera," quoted in da Costa, "Gaspar Correa," 861. In an anonymous text by a Jesuit, "Conquista da India per humas e outras armas reaes, e evangelicas"—preserved at the British Museum in the Egerton Collection (no. 1646) and published in António da Silva Rego, *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1960), 1:409–11—*white people* is replaced with *gente do Ponente* (people from the West), but at the same time the bones of St. Thomas found after the excavation in 1522 are judged to be *muito alvos* (very white) compared to the other mortal remains of a king from the region converted by the apostle. A color hierarchy is subtly underscored, with white defined as closer to (Christian) saintliness.

22. The folklore, mythology, and literature of the Jains, Muslims, and Hindus give the locality of Mylapore ("the city of peacocks") a particular status in the sacred geography of the region. For example, one of the most famous Tamil poets, Tiruvalluvar, whom one suspects may have been a Jain, not only lived here in the fifth century but according to local tradition some of his miraculous performances greatly resembled those of St. Thomas. G. U. Pope, *The Sacred Kurral of Tiruvalluva Nayanar* (Oxford, 1886; New Delhi, 1995). The Jesuit hagiographer of Francis Xavier, João de Lucena, mentioned Valuuer, a local philosopher and theologian, as a contemporary of the apostle, Lucena, *História de vida,* vol. 1, 96–97. See Hosten, *Antiquities from San Thomé and Mylapore.*

23. Barbosa, *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa,* 2:307.

24. Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990).

25. António Joaquim Anselmo, *Bibliografia das Obras Impressas em Portugal no Século XVI* (Lisbon: Oficinas Gráficas da Biblioteca Nacional, 1926), 146.

26. *De Gloria Martyrum et Confesorum,* I, XXXij, 70–72, quoted in Thomaz, "A lenda de S. Tomé," 383; and W. R. Philipps, "The Connection of Saint Thomas the Apostle with India," *Indian Antiquary: A Journal of Oriental Research* 42 (1903), 1–15 and 145–60.

27. See Malcolm Letts, ed., *Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations,* 2nd series, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953). The manuscript texts from the fifteenth century are found in the British Museum. See also Stephen Greenblatt, "From the Dome of the Rock to the Rim of the World," in *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, 1991), 26–51.

28. Marco Polo, *The Travels* (Penguin Classics, 1980), 274–77.

29. *Khoja* is a title designating a Persian merchant, but it is also employed as a proper name among the Armenians of Mylapore and Madras. Schurhammer identified Escandel as Iskander (Alexander). He also believed that the term *Armenios* was used at that time to designate St. Thomas Christians as well (who

were also identified as *Arameans* and *Chaldeans*). See Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 2:567.

30. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 2:722–26; and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses* (Porto, 1979), 1:128–29.

31. António da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, India* (henceforth *SR*) (Lisbon, 1947–58), 1:296–99. Two copies of the original are in the Biblioteca Nacional (Reservados, cod. 7638, doc. 87) and in the Biblioteca da Ajuda (50-VI-21) in Lisbon. Gomes presented himself as a *criado* (employee, servant) of Dom Pedro do Castel Branquo (Branco).

32. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 2:726. He also attended the Corpus Christi Mass in the chapel.

33. "Descansar-se aos pés do Santo Apóstolo," quoted in Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire,* 47.

34. Gaspar Correa followed the text of Diogo Fernandes's testimony of 1533, preserved in ARSI, Goa 31, fols. 18–25v. See *Lendas da India,* 2:725. The document preserved in ARSI, Goa 49, fols. 125–31, *Auto de huma enformação que o padre vigário, Gaspar Coelho, chegando a esta terra tomou de Diogo Fernandes, aqui casado e morador sobre as cousas do apóstolo S. Thome* (May 22, 1543), repeats verbatim certain pieces of information, while omitting other. The latter document is a copy made in 1601, to which two other documents are attached, signed by Dom Frey André de Santa Maria, the bishop of Cochin, concerning the tomb and relics of St. Thomas in Mylapore. The three texts were published by N. Figueiredo in *Esplendores da Religão,* vol. 2 (Nova Goa, 1930). The English translation is in N. Figueiredo, *Saint Thomas, the Apostle in Mylapore.* The latter text has also been translated and published in Carmel Iturriotz, "Three Saint Thomas Documents," *Kerala Society Paper* 2, series 9 (1932) 205–24.

35. The cross of Avis was one of the emblems of the ruling royal dynasty and was engraved, printed, or painted on a wide variety of objects. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 2:722–24.

36. *SR,* 2:197 and 357–62.

37. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 2:86–689; and A. M. Mundadan, "The Portuguese Settlement in Mylapore," *Indian Church History Review* 3, no. 2 (Dec. 1969), 109.

38. See the excellent article by Jorge Manuel Flores, "Um 'homem que tem muito crédito naquelas partes': Miguel Ferreira, os 'alevantados' do Coromandel e o Estado da Índia," *Mare Liberum* (Lisbon) 5 (1993): 21–37.

39. For the text preserved in the "Crónicas de Portugal e Índia até 1553" in Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, see da Costa, "Gaspar Correa." See also Jerónimo Quadros, "Epigrafia Índica, Uma Inscrição em Pahlavi," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 14 (Bastorá) 1932: 1–31.

40. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 3:419

41. According to Schurhammer, the Syrian bishop (or *abuna*) Mar Denha died shortly after his arrival. Georg Schurhammer, "Letters of Mar Jacob Bishop of Malabar, 1503–1550" and "The Malabar Church and Rome before the Coming

of the Portuguese: Joseph the Indian's Testimony," in *Orientalia* (Gesammelte Studien, vol. 2) IHSI/Centro de Estudios Históricos Ultramarino, Rome and Lisbon, 1963, 333–49 and 351–63. See also Luís Filipe Thomaz, "A carta que mandaram os padres da Índia, da China e da Magna China—um relato siríaco da chegada dos Portugueses ao Malabar e o seu primeiro encontro com a hierarquia cristã local," *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 36 (1991): 149–50; and João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "Os Portugueses e a cristandade siro-malabar (1498–1530)," *Studia* (Lisbon) 52 (1994): 135.

42. Besides cristãos de São Tomé, the Portuguese also often called the St. Thomas Christians foreign Christians or *surianos* (Syrians). Their local name before the Portuguese arrived was *Nasrani Mappila.* While the first word refers to their western and Christian origin (Nazareth), the second term is often used as an honorific title, although its primary meaning is "brother-in-law." The designation *Mappila* is also used for the Muslim communities in Kerala. Just like Christians, these Muslims came to India following commercial routes, settled on the coast, indigenized, intermarried with the local population, and obtained various commercial privileges from the local kings. The Portuguese referred to them as *mouros da terra* (native Muslims), as opposed to the *mouros da Meca.* The Portuguese considered the latter to be the most dangerous enemies. Leslie Brown, *The Indian Christians of Saint Thomas* (Cambridge, 1982) (1st ed. 1956), 171. For a contemporary Muslim view on the Portuguese presence in India in the sixteenth century, see Zinadim, *História dos Portugueses no Malabar,* translated into Portuguese and published by David Lopes (Lisbon, 1898).

43. See Leslie Brown, *The Indian Christians.* Due to the politically volatile situation in Mesopotamia and the internal divisions among the Western Christian churches, the bishops sent to India did not always come from the same monastic centers, nor from the same line of primates. Schurhammer, "The Malabar Church and Rome," 351–63.

44. Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings,* 255. See also Corinne G. Dempsey, *Kerala Christian Sainthood: Collisions of Culture and Worldview in South India* (New Delhi, 2001); and Susan Visvanathan, *The Christians of Kerala: History, Belief, and Ritual among the Yakoba* (New Delhi, 1993).

45. The Romanization of the Syrian liturgy, the expurgation of the heretical theological ideas, and the suppression of certain traditional church rites and customs that the Portuguese considered superstitious were the goals of the Catholic missionaries and clergy in the sixteenth century. After the Synod of Diamper (Udayamperur) in 1599, which was forcefully summoned and presided over by the archbishop of Goa Frey Aleixo de Menezes (an Augustinian), the St. Thomas Christian community, already divided on the issue, nominally accepted all Catholic corrections, only to reject them in the seventeenth century, and although most remained faithful to Catholic ecclesiastical organization, in the course of time the rebel Christian groupings splintered further into many different autonomous local churches. In the nineteenth century, some of them were incorporated in the Protestant fold.

46. Schurhammer, "The Letters of Mar Jacob," 344. See also Sebastião Pires to João III, king of Portugal, Cochin, 1527, *Corpo Chronologico,* 1-38-51,

AN/TT, Lisbon. Summary of the letter in Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer zur Zeit des Hl. Franz Xaver (1538–1552)* (Rome, 1962), 11.

47. Identified as an apocryphal text since the first decades of the third century, the Acts were written in Syriac and very soon translated into Greek. The text belongs entirely within the Gnostic tradition. W. Wright, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 1 (London and Edinburgh, 1891); and see Thomaz, "A lenda de S. Tomé," 405 and 410.

48. This prophecy was known to Portuguese historians (Barros, Correa, etc.) and even finds an echo in the epic of Luís Camões, *Lusíadas*, 1st ed. (Lisbon, 1572), 10:109. The destruction of the coastal town by the ocean seems to have already been established as part of the city's history when the Portuguese arrived. Manuel Gomes noted in 1517 that the inhabitants had spoken to him about four villages submerged by water. *SR*, 1:297. In 1567, Melchior Nunes Barreto also collected testimonies concerning the submerged ruins on the basis of place names used by the fishermen. See *DI*, 7:199–200.

49. da Costa, "Gaspar Correa," 863. The spring on the *cinna malai* (Little Mount), today part of the Saidapet suburb of Madras, is reputed to have been miraculously opened by St. Thomas. Jars of curative water are on sale to pilgrims.

50. Ibid., 863.

51. Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire*, 71–72. See also Geneviève Bouchon and Luís Filipe Thomaz, *Voyage dans les deltas du Gange et de l'Irraouaddy*, 1551 (Paris, 1988); George Winius, "The Shadow Empire of Goa in the Bay of Bengal," *Itinerario* 7, no. 2 (1983), 93–101; and Luís Filipe Thomaz, *De Malacca a Pegu, viagens de um feitor português (1512–1515)* (Lisbon, 1966).

52. Letter from the inhabitants of São Tomé de Meliapor to the king, D. João III, Dec. 27, 1535, AN/TT, Gavetas, XI-8-18. Another copy (from the eighteenth century) is found in the Biblioteca Nacional, Reservados, Lisbon (BNL), 176, fols. 1–5r. The letter from AN/TT is published in António da Silva Rego, ed., *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo* (Lisbon, 1962), 2:712–15.

53. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Crónica do Reis de Bisnaga e a Crónica do Guzerate: Dois Textos Indo-Portugueses do Século XVI," in *Os Construtores do Oriente Português* (Porto, 1998), 131–53; Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, *História do Primeiro Cerco de Diu* (Lisbon, 1890); and A. B. de Bragança Pereira, *Os Portugueses em Diu* (Separata of *O Oriente Português*) (Bastorá, 1935).

54. Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire*, 89.

55. *Carta dos moradores da casa de S. Tomé a el-rei, S. Tomé (Meliapor)*, Sept. 1, 1537, AN/TT, CC, I, 58–59, published in *SR*, 2:249–55.

56. They were then put in a larger chest, among the other bones found during the excavations.

57. For the later shifting of the relics, see the testimony of Diogo Fernandes—ARSI, Goa 31, fols. 19–25, and ARSI, Goa 49, fols. 125–131v.

58. N. Figueiredo, *Saint Thomas, the Apostle in Mylapore*, 3.

59. Leslie Brown, *The Indian Christians*, 80; and A. C. Burnell, "On Some Pahlavi Inscriptions in South India," in *The Indian Antiquary* (Bombay, 1874), 3:308–16.

60. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* is a title of a governor of a *maṇḍalam,* or a large territorial unit. See Naboru Karashima, "Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule," in *History and Society in South India: The Chola to Vijayanagar* (New Delhi, 2001), 2. See also Burton Stein, *Vijayanagara* (Cambridge, 1989), 118–30.

61. Subrahmanyam, "Profit at the Apostle's Feet," 224. Sadāśiva Raya (1543–69) of the Tuluva lineage, the official king of the kingdom, was only a child and a prisoner. Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar): A Contribution to the History of India* (London, 1900; New Delhi, 1991), 179–80; and George Michell, *Architecture and Art of Southern India: Vijayanagar and the Successor States* (Cambridge, 1995), 14–15.

62. *DI,* 4:368. See also Diogo do Conto, *Da Asia, Déc.* VII (2), lib. 7, c. l, pp. 53–60.

63. Manuel Nunes to Queen D. Catarina, Goa, Dec. 20, 1559, *DI,* 4:491.

64. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 3:121.

65. Francisco Henriques to Migel de Torres, Lisbon, Apr. 5, 1558, *DI,* 4:70; account of the missions to the East (by Francisco Henriques and Andrea de Carvalho) (Evora, Sept. 1561), *DI,* 5:180–81.

66. Luís Fróis to the fathers and brothers in Portugal, Goa, Nov. 13, 1560, *DI,* 4:666–67; and Luís Fróis to A. Barreto, Goa, Dec. 10, 1560, *DI,* 4:827.

67. The relics were given to the bishop of Cochin, Dom Jorge Temudo, O.P., who in 1567 would become archbishop in Goa until his death in 1571. Cf. *DI,* 5:181. According to Fróis, Constantino de Bragança had ordered the construction of the Church of St. Thomas on the road of the College of São Paulo at the insistence of Gonçalo de Silveira, a Jesuit who was later martyred at Monomotapa. See *DI,* 4:368. Even though André de Santa Maria mentioned that he had personally known Lopo de Almada, the latter's identity remains obscure. He does not appear, for example, in Fr. Achilles Meersman, O.F.M., *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India, 1500–1835* (Bangalore, 1971). This enigmatic thief of relics was mentioned by Franciso de Sousa, *Oriente conquistado,* c. 2, d. 1, para. 37.

68. Sousa, *Oriente conquistado,* c. 2, d. 1, para. 37.

69. ARSI, Goa 49, fols. 125–28v.

70. Sousa, *Oriente conquistado,* c. 2, d. 1, para. 38.

71. Herman d'Souza, *In the Steps of Saint Thomas* (Madras, 1983), 59. On weeping and bleeding statues and crosses in European culture, see Mary Lee Nolan and Sydney Nolan, *Christian Pilgrims in Modern Western Europe* (Chapel Hill, 1989).

72. Frei António de Gouveia, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes Primaz da India Oriental* [. . .] (Coimbra, 1606), L. 2, c. 2, 77, quoted in N. Figueiredo, *Saint Thomas, the Apostle in Mylapore,* doc. 3, 2; Oliverio Toscanello to Everard Mercurain, Goa, Dec. 17, 1575, *DI,*10:225–26; and Francisco Dionisyo, *Informação da cristandade de São Thomé,* Cochin, Jan. 4, 1578, *DI,* 11:134–35.

73. Melchior Nunes Barreto to Francisco de Borja, Cochin, Jan. 20, 1567, *DI,* 7:201.

74. The Vijayanagara state never recovered after the loss of its capital. A new Aravidu dynasty, founded by Rāma Rāja's younger brother Tirumala, took refuge further southeast, first in Penukonda, and then, under Venkata II (1580–1614), the capital was shifted to Chandragiri and later to Vellore, not far from Tirupati, one of the most famous Vaishnava pilgrimage places and temples in South India. The kingdom disintegrated completely after 1646. See Henry Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara* (Madras, 1927); Joan-Pau Rubiés, "The Jesuit Discovery of Hinduism," 3:210–50; and Anila Verghese, *Archeology, Art and Religion, New Perspectives on Vijayanagara* (New Delhi, 2000).

75. The last miracle, which took place in 1704 in the presence of English Protestants, is described by a French Jesuit, Guy Tachard, in a letter from Chandernagor dated Jan. 18, 1711, and published in *Les letters édifiantes et curieuses* (Paris, 1781), 12:9–22.

76. Subrahmanyam, "Profit at the Apostle's Feet," 64; see Olga Pinto, ed., *Viaggi de C. Federici e G. Balbi alle Indie Orientali* (Rome, 1962).

77. The churches in the town: São Tomé, São João Batista, São Francisco, and the Church of Misericórdia. Outside the walls of the town: Madre de Deus, São Lazaro, Nosso Senhora da Luz, and Nossa Senhora da Monte.

78. Subrahmanyam, "Profit at the Apostle's Feet," 47.

79. *MX,* 2:213; and Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 2:603. The scene of the opening of Xavier's reliquary in 1559 in Cochin is described in a letter by Luís Fróis to Goa, Nov. 19, 1559, *DI,* 4:408; and S. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:182.

80. Letters from Xavier show no trace of his transactions that later became celebrated hagiographic episodes in his life. See Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:160; and Lucena, *História de vida,* 1:158–60.

81. Luís Fróis to members in Europe, Goa, Nov. 19, 1559, *DI,* 4:407–8.

82. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:182.

83. On the psychological motivations for endowing certain locations in Tamil Nadu with directly accessible shakti (Tamil, cakti) and supernatural communication through possession and with the help of professional mediums, see Isabelle Nabokov, *Religion against the Self, An Ethnography of Tamil Rituals* (New York, 2000), 4.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Ignatius of Loyola, *Écrits,* edited by M. Guliani (Paris, 1991), 697; and *MI Epp,* 1:495–510. See also Francisco Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus da Assistência de Portugal* (Porto, 1931), vol. 1, no. 1, 554–61.

2. Although some Jesuit and partisan historians frown upon the frequently invoked parallel between Jesuit and military professions, Loyola and his contemporaries, as well as the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Jesuit historians, used this simile in the positive sense of denoting discipline, efficient organization, and institutional success. John O'Malley is right in debunking certain metaphors and similes that at times are rather too quickly attached to the Jesuits, for malicious rea-

sons or simply out of ignorance of the discursive canons in use. Nevertheless, even if in his later important letters on obedience Loyola did not use the simile of a soldier, in this letter of 1547 he most certainly did. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 352.

3. Alphonse Dupront, "Vie et création religieuse dans la France moderne (XIVe–XVIIIe siècle)," in *La France et les français*, edited by M. François (Paris, 1972), 493 and 538.

4. Turner, *The Ritual Process,* 132.

5. Loyola, *Écrits*, 698.

6. Francis Xavier to those who reside in Goa, Kagoshima, Nov. 5, 1549, *EX,* 2:196–99.

7. Francis Xavier to the residents of Goa, Kagoshima, Nov. 5, 1549, *EX,* 2:196.

8. *Directory of the Spiritual Exercises* is a guide for spiritual directors. The first was published in 1599.

9. His father, Gomes Eannes, "o Cavalleiro," had, besides António, six legitimate daughters and a son out of wedlock, Gomes Eannes de Figueredo. See F. de Meneses Vaz, "Gomes Eannes," *Das Artes e da história da Madeira* 3, no. 4 (1955): 50. See also the manuscripts in Rome and Lisbon. Rome: ARSI, Lus. 43, fol. 2; and Lisbon: AN/TT, *Chancellarias Reias: D. João III, Doações* 5, fol. 135v.

10. António Lourenço Farinha, "Dr. António Gomes," *Das Artes e da História da Madeira* 3, no. 4 (1955): 1–10; F. Hilt, S.J., "Paul de Camerino et Antoine Gomes," in *Compagnons d'Apostolat de Saint François Xavier* (Ho-kien-fou, 1917), 1–23; and Rodrigues, *História da Companhia,* 1:367–68 and 647–52. Rodrigues did not cover Gomes's stay in India. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 3:529.

11. Rodrigues, *História da Companhia*, 1:365–75.

12. *Fabri Monumenta: Beati Petri Fabri Epistolae, Memoriale et Processus* (Matriti, 1914), 345–57.

13. Simão Rodrigues to Ignatius of Loyola, the beginning of 1547, *Epistolae PP. Paschasii Broëti, Claudii Jaji, Joannis Codurii et Simonis Rodericii* (henceforth, *Epp. Broëti*) (Matriti, 1903), 1:547–51.

14. Rodrigues, *História da Companhia,* 1:536.

15. Francis Xavier to António Gomes, Kagoshima, Nov. 5, 1549, *EX,* 2:222.

16. António Gomes to Luis Gonçalves da Camara, São Fins, May 27, 1547, *Epistolae Mistae ex variis Europae locis ab aanno* 1537 *ad* 1566 *scriptae* (Matriti, 1898), 1:375–83; and *Litterae Quadrimestres ex universis praeter Indiam et Brasilam locis in quibus aliqui de Societate versabantur Romam missa* (henceforth, *Epp. Quadr.*) (Matriti, 1894), 1:65–66.

17. António Soares to Martín de Santa Cruz (in Rome), Coimbra, July 12, 1547, *Epp. Quadr.*, 1:57. Melchior Nunes Barreto, *Epp. Quadr.*, 1:60–71.

18. Simão Rodrigues to Martín de Santa Cruz, *Epp. Broëti,* 1:569–71 and 585–86.

19. For a brief and informative summary of the life histories of these Jesuits, see Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 3:498–510.

20. H. Henriques to the members in Portugal, Punnaikayal, Nov. 5, 1552, *DI,* 2:388–89.

21. Paulo do Vale to Luís da Grã, Bembar [Vembar], Dec. 24, 1548, *DI,* 1:429–30.

22. For the description of this scene, see Luís Fróis, *Die Geschichte Japans (1549–1578),* ed. G. Schurhammer, S.J., and E. A. Voretzsch, S.J. (Leipzig, 1926), 1.

23. Gaspar Barzaeus to the confreres in Coimbra, Goa, Dec. 13, 1548, *DI,* 1:394. Baltasar Gago also reported the event. Baltasar Gago to the members in Coimbra, Goa, between Oct. 14 and 20, 1549, *DI,* 1:552.

24. Nicolò Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Nov. 1548, *DI,* 1:342.

25. Melchior Gonçalves to confreres in Coimbra, Goa, Nov. 9, 1548, *DI,* 1:313.

26. Gaspar Barzaeus to the confreres in Coimbra, Goa, Dec. 13, 1548, *DI,* 1:402.

27. Melchior Gonçalves to confreres in Coimbra, Goa, Nov. 9, 1548, *DI,* 1:314–15.

28. Gaspar Barzaeus to the confreres in Coimbra, Goa, Dec. 13, 1548, *DI,* 1:395. See also Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado,* c.1, d.1, para. 42, p. 66; and *DI* 11:338. The head was "authenticated" as belonging to St. Geracina. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 3:353.

29. Juan de Albuquerque, the bishop of Goa, to João III, Goa, Nov. 5, 1548, *DI,* 1:303.

30. Gaspar Barzaeus to the confreres in Coimbra, Goa, Dec. 13, 1548, *DI,* 1:395–96.

31. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 4:671.

32. Gaspar Barzaeus to the confreres in Coimbra, Goa, Dec. 13, 1548, *DI,* 1:397.

33. Melchior Gonçalves to confreres in Coimbra, Goa, Nov. 9, 1548, *DI,* 1:313. See also *SR,* 4:120.

34. Loyola, *Constitutions,* 249 (para. 547).

35. Tomé Lobo, Cristandade de Goa, Goa, Oct. 13, 1548, *SR,* 4:70.

36. *Statuta Confraternitatis Fidei, DI,* 1:776–80.

37. Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco, *Veedor da Fazenda, servindo do governador, com Assento que fez com os gancares das Ilhas de Goa* [. . .], *DI,* 1: 763–66.

38. *Determinação e asemto pera a ordem da casa*, Goa, June 27, 1546, *DI,* 1:111–29.

39. *Determinação e asemto pera a ordem da casa*, Goa, June 27, 1546, *DI,* 1:127–28.

40. N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Nov. 5, 1546, *DI,* 1:142.

41. N. Lancilotto to P. Martín da Santa Cruz in Coimbra, Goa, Oct. 22, 1545, *DI,* 1:40–41.

42. N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Dec. 26, 1548, *DI,* 1:442; and N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Kollam, Jan. 12, 1551, *DI,* 2:169. In his view, the age of recruitment set by the mordomos—between twelve and fifteen—was a mistake since virtue can be easily implanted only in small children between the ages of five and six. In the Compromisso of 1546, the reason why the lower bar was to be twelve was that, before that age, children are prone to forget their

native tongue. Since these boys were destined to be sent back to their own countries and communities after ordination or the completion of their studies, the loss of their mother tongue would cripple their chances of reintegration. N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Oct. 10, 1547, *DI,* 1:185–86.

43. Cosme Anes to João III, Bassein, Nov. 30, 1547, *DI,* 1:217.

44. N. Lancilotto to Simão Rodrigues, Goa, Oct., 22, 1545, *DI,* 1:33–34.

45. N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Nov. 5, 1546, *DI,* 1:133–35.

46. N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Nov. 5, 1546, *DI,* 1:141.

47. N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Oct. 10, 1547, *DI,* 184. Lancilotto therefore pleaded for a professed priest to be sent as a rector of the College of St. Paul and a superior for India in Xavier's absence. N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Nov. 5, 1546, *DI,* 1:140–41.

48. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 20, 1548, *EX,* 1:397–98.

49. António Gomes to Simão Rodrigues, Goa, Dec. 20, 1548, *DI,* 1:420; and Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, Kochi, Feb. 2, 1549, *EX,* 2:74.

50. N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Dec. 26, 1548, *DI,* 1:439–50.

51. António Gomes to Simão Rodrigues, Goa, Dec. 20, 1548, *DI,* 1:412.

52. Cosme de Torres to Ignatius of Loyola and other members, Goa, Jan. 25, 1549, *DI,* 1:478. The spiritual exercises took place sometime in November of 1548, before Xavier's departure for Kochi and the Fishery Coast.

53. António Gomes to Simão Rodrigues, Goa, Dec. 20, 1548, *DI,* 1:412.

54. Juan de Albuquerque, the bishop of Goa, to D. Alvaro de Castro, Goa, Feb. 10, 1547, *DI,* 2:171.

55. Saldanha, *História de Goa,* 2:49.

56. António Gomes to Simão Rodrigues, Goa, Dec. 20, 1548, *DI,* 1:409–26.

57. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 12, 1549, *EX,* 2:8.

58. Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, Kochi, Jan. 20, 1549, *EX,* 2:36.

59. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 12, 1549, *EX,* 2:7.

60. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 12, 1549, *EX,* 2:13.

61. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 12, 1549, *EX,* 2:7.

62. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 14, 1549, *EX,* 2:22–24.

63. Francis Xavier to João III, the king of Portugal, Kochi, Jan. 26, 1549, *EX,* 2:57–63.

64. Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, Kochi, Jan. 27, 1545, *EX,* 1:281–82.

65. Francis Xavier to the members in Rome, Kochi, Jan. 27, 1545, *EX,* 1:278.

66. Francis Xavier to João III, the king of Portugal, Kochi, Jan. 26, 1549, *EX,* 2:61.

67. Francis Xavier, *Lembramça pera ho vigario geral das cousas que há de negocear com El-Rey pera bem dos christãos da Imdia*, Kochi, ca. Jan. 20, 1549, *EX,* 2:46–51. For the Japan mission, see Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, Kochi, Jan. 20, 1549, *EX,* 2:44.

68. Frey António do Casal to João III, Kochi, Jan. 21, 1549, *SR,* 4:255.

69. Gaspar Barzaeus to the members of the Company, Hurmuz, Dec., 10, 1549, *DI,* 1:643.

70. Gaspar Barzaeus to the members of the Company in India and in Europe, Hurmuz, Dec. 1, 1549, *DI,* 1:598.

71. It seems that Cosme Anes banked on Gomes's highly placed connections at the court in Lisbon to help him resolve his financial difficulties caused by the debts of his father-in-law, Toscano. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 3:618.

72. N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Kollam, Jan. 25, 1550, *DI* 2:10.

73. His name was often preceded with a title spelled as *Misser* or *Micer.*

74. These are some of the central pointers given to Barzaeus before his departure to Hurmuz. Francis Xavier, *Lembrança do que aveis de fazer em Ormuz e a ordem que guardareis o tempo que laa estiverdes*, Goa, Apr. 1549, *EX,* 2: 80–101.

75. Francis Xavier to Micer Paulo de Camerino, Goa, between Apr. 7 and 15, 1549, *EX,* 2:101–8.

76. Loyola, *Constitutions*, 327 (para. 800) and 324 (para. 789).

77. Francis Xavier to fathers Paulo, A. Gomes, B. Gago, Melaka, June 20–22, 1549, *EX,* 2:128–29.

78. Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, Goa, June 23, 1549, *EX,* 2:154.

79. Ignatius of Loyola to Francis Xavier, Rome, Oct. 10, 1549, *DI,* 1:507–10.

80. Ignatius of Loyola to Francis Xavier, Rome, Oct. 11, 1549, *DI,* 1:512.

81. Francis Xavier to António Gomes, Kagoshima, Nov. 5, 1549, *EX,* 2:222–26.

82. Gaspar Barzaeus to the members in Coimbra, Goa, Dec. 13, 1548, *DI,* 1:399–401.

83. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 4:436–43.

84. Juan de Albuquerque, the bishop of Goa, to João III, the king of Portugal, Goa, Nov. 28, 1548, *DI,* 1:326.

85. Christovão Fernandes to João III, Goa, Nov. 21, 1548, ANTT, Lisbon, *Corpo Cronológico*, 2-241-89, fol. 1r.

86. For the exact date of baptism, see Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 3:539. Gaspar Barzaeus to the members in Coimbra, Goa, Dec. 13, 1548, *DI,* 1:400. According to Tomé Lobo, Loku's children were also converted. Christovão Rodrigues added another *gancar* (member of the village association), Tahim. All in all, about a dozen people were baptized on that day. Tomé Lobo to João III, king of Portugal, Goa, Oct. 13, 1548, *DI,* 1:272. Also Juan de Albuquerque, the bishop of Goa, to João III, Goa, Nov. 28, 1548, *DI,* 1:327–28; and Gaspar Barzaeus to the members in Coimbra, Goa, Dec. 13, 1548, *DI,* 1:400–405.

87. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 3:540.

88. Gaspar Barzaeus to the members in Coimbra, Goa, Dec. 13, 1548, *DI,* 1:401.

89. Baltazar Gago to the members in Coimbra, Goa, between Oct. 14 and 20, 1549, *DI,* 1:567–68.

90. Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, Kochi, Jan. 20, 1549, *EX,* 2:42.

91. Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues or to the rector of the college in Lisbon, Goa, Apr. 6, 1552, *EX,* 2:350.

92. António Gomes to João III, Goa, around Oct. 25, 1549, *DI,* 1:528–29.

93. Juan de Albuquerque, bishop of Goa, to the queen of Portugal, Goa, Oct. 20, 1549, *DI,* 1:540.

94. Joseph Wicki, S.J., "Die Heidenbekehrung in den Jesuiten-Niederlassun-

gen von Portugiesisch Indien," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 3 (1947):43.

95. Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces,* 269–72; and *SR,* 3:286. On the history of relations between the king of Tanur and the Portuguese, see Schurhammer, *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen.*

96. *Parecer do Bispo de Goa,* Feb. 8, 1546, *SR,* 3:296–301; and *Depoimento de Frei Paulo de Santarém,* Feb. 6, 1546, *SR,* 3:301–4.

97. D. Ferroli, S.J., *The Jesuits in Malabar,* 1:133–37 and 257–66.

98. Juan de Albuquerque, bishop of Goa, to the queen of Portugal, Goa, Oct. 20, 1549, *DI,* 1:538.

99. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 4:684.

100. Baltazar Gago to the members of the college in Coimbra, Goa, between Oct. 14 and 20, 1549, *DI,* 1:555–58.

101. Juan de Albuquerque, bishop of Goa, to the queen of Portugal, Goa, Oct. 20, 1549, *DI,* 1:542–43; and Correa, *Lendas da India,* 4:681–99.

102. Although his martyrdom echoed for a few years in missionary letters, especially from his southern mission among the Paravas, the higher Jesuit authorities had their suspicions about the way in which his martyrdom occurred. They did not lend enough support to the voices demanding his canonization, so his martyrdom fell into oblivion. Indirectly, some internal Jesuit documents regarding the manner of procedure for the Company branded his death as lacking prudence and unnecessary. See chap. 4 in this volume.

103. Juan de Albuquerque, bishop of Goa, to the queen of Portugal, Goa, Oct. 20, 1549, *DI,* 1:243.

104. Juan de Albuquerque, bishop of Goa, to the queen of Portugal, Goa, Oct. 20, 1549, *DI,* 1:243.

105. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 4:689.

106. Baltazar Gago to the members of the Society in Coimbra, Goa, Oct. 1549, *DI,* 1:573–74.

107. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 4:691–93.

108. Ibid., 4:689.

109. Juan de Albuquerque, bishop of Goa, to the queen of Portugal, Goa, Oct. 20, 1549, *DI,* 1:544.

110. Luís Filipe Thomaz, *A Questão da Pimenta em Meados do Século XVI: Um debate político do governo de D. João de Castro* (Lisbon, 1998).

111. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 4:696–97.

112. Jorge Cabral to João III, Kochi, Feb. 21, 1550, *SR,* 4:488.

113. Jorge Cabral to João III, Kochi, Feb. 21, 1550, *SR,* 4:490.

114. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala* (New Delhi, Madras: AES, 1989), 502–4.

115. According to Gaspar Correa, whose *Lendas da India* concludes with the pepper war of 1551, it became obvious to everyone that the conversion of the king of Tanur was a fraud. His only reason for conversion was to renegotiate with the zamorin certain territorial possessions along the river Ponnāni. Correa, *Lendas da India,* 4:684–85. In early 1552, the king of Tanur was involved in more warlike activity against Kochi and the Portuguese, as Dom Affonso de

Noronha discovered after his return from Sri Lanka during Christmas 1551. Schurhammer, *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen,* 4874 (Dom João of Tanur's letter of justification to the Portuguese king); and Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 4:422.

116. Schurhammer, *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen,* 4592; and Correa, *Lendas da India,* 4:723–24.

117. Dom Affonso de Noronha, viceroy of India, to Simão Rodrigues, provincial of Portugal, Kochi, Jan. 5, 1551, *DI,* 2:138–43. He stressed that Gomes was a good man but that his actions scandalized people. In a letter to the king, he had almost no good words for Gomes, who apparently predicted that Jorge Cabral would reign for another seven years due to the death of his successor at sea. Dom Affonso de Noronha, viceroy of India, to João III, Kochi, Jan. 16, 1551, *DI,* 2:181.

118. He also wanted to take over the Bassein college from the Franciscans. A. Gomes to Simão Rodrigues, Goa, Dec. 20, 1548, *DI,* 1:420.

119. Gaspar Barzaeus to the members of the Coimbra college, Goa, Dec. 13, 1548, *DI,* 1:399–401.

120. Dom Affonso de Noronha, viceroy of India, to Simão Rodrigues, provincial of Portugal, Kochi, Jan. 5, 1551, *DI,* II, 2:141. The plan to erect an imposing college building triggered the lawsuit. In fact, the Kochi town authorities were against too many religious institutions because they feared they would ultimately become an unwanted financial burden to the city budget.

121. N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Kollam, Jan. 6, 1551, *DI,* 2:147. Gomes also issued a prohibition to contract marriages within the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity among the Christians on the Fishery Coast. Henriques and the missionaries there found it very difficult to explain such an interdiction to their Parava flock, let alone apply it to the letter. N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Kollam, Dec. 5, 1550, *DI,* 3:126–27. On Henrique Henriques and his uneasy status as a New Christian among the Jesuits, see chap. 7.

122. A. Cypriano to Ignatius of Loyola, S. Tomé, Dec. 3, 1549, *DI,* 1:594–95.

123. This is Lancilotto's opinion. N. Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Kollam, Jan. 12, 1551, *DI,* 2:172.

124. The Jesuits in Goa, in fact, agreed with Gomes's line of reasoning in this respect and refused to accept Melchior Nunes Barreto as their superior. According to Xavier's instructions, taught by the experience with Gomes, no newcomer from Europe could be automatically appointed superior. Gaspar Barzaeus to Iganatius of Loyola, Goa, Dec. 12, 1551, *DI,* 2:242–43.

125. Baltazar Gago to the Portuguese members, Kochi, Jan. 10, 1552, *DI,* 2:280–81.

126. D. Affonso de Noronha to João III, Kochi, Jan. 27, 1552, *DI,* 2:294–96; and H. Henriques to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 27, 1552, *DI,* 2:306–7. Another four-year-old Ceylonese prince, allegedly a son of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, was given to the viceroy as a hostage. The prince went to Portugal in 1557 and, after he returned to Goa, married a Portuguese woman and died in 1587. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., and E. A. Voretzsch, *Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bahu und Franz Xavier, 1539–1552* (Leipzig, 1928), 76–77 and 601; and Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia* (Lisbon, 1780), vol. 2, d.6, b.9, chap. 18.

127. Francis Xavier to the members in Europe, Kochi, Jan. 29, 1552, *EX*, 2:266–67.

128. Miguel de Nóbrega, in his own words, was dismissed for reporting a nasty rumor about António Gomes. M. de Nobrega to Ignatius of Loyola, Cairo, Aug. 2, 1553, *DI*, 4:870–74. Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues or to the rector of the College of St. Antão in Lisbon, Goa, Apr. 7, 1552, *EX*, 2:350, on hastily ordained Portuguese priests in Goa.

129. Francis Xavier to Micer Paulo, Kochi, Feb. 4, 1552, *EX*, 2:310–11.

130. Miguel de Nóbrega, in Turkish captivity, wrote from Cairo that Gomes complained about the smallness of the Diu fortress and about the fact that Gomes had permission to eat meat during Lent because of his ill health and that that would scandalize the people in the fortress.

131. Francis Xavier to Gaspar Barzaeus, Goa, between Apr. 6 and 14, 1552, *EX*, 2:382–83.

132. Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, Goa, Apr. 7, 1552, *EX*, 2:347.

133. This is how Valignano characterized António Gomes: "He had inflated opinion and confidence in his prudence and talent, although he was very pious and gave a good example of himself." Alessandro Valignano, *Historia del Principio y Progresso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales, 1542–1564*, edited by J. Wicki, S.J. (Rome 1994), 197.

134. For the *language sensible*, see Gérard Genette, *Figures II* (Paris, 1969), 149.

135. I take these terms from Eric Schocket, "Undercover Explorations of the 'Other Half,' or the Writer as Class Transvestite," *Representation*s 64 (fall 1998), 111.

136. Nicolò Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Nov. 6, 1546, *DI*, 1:146. *Nam cum haec terra sit in medio toridae zone* [. . .].

137. Antonio Criminali to the parents in Parma, Goa, Oct. 8, 1545, *DI*, 1:24–25.

138. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 14, 1549, *EX*, 2:22.

139. H. Henriques to I. Lainez, Mannar, Dec. 19, 1561, *DI*, 5:382. See chap. 5.

140. Francisco de Borja to A. de Quadros, Rome, Nov. 29, 1565, *DI*, 6:526.

141. Artur Basilio de Sá, *Documentação para a história das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: Insulíndia* (Lisbon, 1955), 2:83–84; and Schurhammer, *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen*, 6002, 6003, and 6007.

142. Francis Xavier to J. de Beira, Strait of Singapore, July 21, 1552, *EX*, 2:476–77.

143. Francis Xavier to Alfonso Cypriano, Goa, Apr. 6 and 14, 1552, *EX*, 2:384–91.

144. Bernardo Gomes de Brito, *História Trágico-Marítima, com outras noticias de naufragios* (Lisbon, 1904), 1:47–49 and 61–65.

145. A. Polanco to G. Barzeus, Rome, Dec. 24, 1553, *DI*, 3:41–42.

146. Schurhammer, *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen*, 6013; and Ignatius of Loyola to Francis Xavier, Rome, June 28, 1553, *DI*, 3:1–5.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. G. Schurhammer, S.J., "Die Bekehrung des Paraver (1535–1537)," in *Orientalia,* (Rome, 1963), 215–54; Bayly, "A Christian Caste," 203–34; Susan Bayly, "The Christian Paravas of Southern Tamilnadu," in *Saints, Goddesses and Kings,* 321–78; and Patrick, A. Roche, *Fishermen of the Coromandel: The Social Study of the Paravas of the Coromandel* (Manohar, 1984).

2. Henrique Henriques to Simão Rodrigues and to the Portuguese members, Kochi, Jan. 12, 1551, *DI,* 2:166.

3. Ines G. Županov, "Prosélytisme et pluralisme religieux: Deux expériences missionnaires en Inde aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* (Paris) 89 (July–Sept. 1994).

4. *Casados*, literally, married men, were Portuguese merchants settled in Asia.

5. George A. Kennedy, *A Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, 1980), 108.

6. On a similar path to selfhood, see, for example, Elizabeth Rhodes, "Luisa de Carvajal's Counter-Reformation Journey to Selfhood (1566–1614)," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (autumn 1998), 887–911.

7. I discuss this in greater detail in the third chapter of this volume.

8. Two letters were addressed to Coimbra students and Portuguese members with the aim of curbing their fervors. The first was written on May 7, 1547 (no. 169); the second on Mar. 26, 1553, in Loyola, *Écrits.*

9. By 1905 there were 907 martyrs. William, V. Bangert, S.J., *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, 1986), 32; I. H. Dugout, S.J., *Nos martyrs: Catalogue des Pères et frères* [. . .] *qui* [. . .] *ont sacrifé leur vie* (Paris, 1905), 62. The official head count today is 265 martyrs in the four categories of special Jesuit heroes: the saints and those whose process of sanctification has not been completed, such as the blessed, the venerable, and the servants of God. See Joseph N. Tylenda, S.J., *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs* (Chicago, 1997).

10. Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy,* 17. The author discussed the desire for martyrdom as a way of countering a situation of uncertainty or uncontrollable violence.

11. Loyola, *Constitutions,* 95 (para. 61).

12. Antonio Criminali to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Oct. 7, 1545, *DI,* 1:8–26; and Antonio Criminali to Giovanni Antonio Criminali, Goa, Oct. 8, 1545, *DI,* 1:23–26.

13. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 14, 1549, *EX,* 2:30.

14. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Sept. 20, 1542, *EX,* 1:135; and Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 27, 1545, *EX,* 1:259.

15. Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, Kochi, Jan. 27, 1545, *EX,* 1:279.

16. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 27, 1545, *EX,* 1:258; and Antonio Criminali to Giovanni Antonio Criminali, Goa, Oct. 8, 1545, *DI,* 1:25.

17. Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, Kochi, Feb. 2, 1549, *EX,* 2:79. Learned and intelligent missionaries were to be sent to Japan. Francis Xavier to the members in Europe, Kochi, Jan. 29, 1552, *EX,* 2:278–79 and 289.

18. Henrique Henriques to Ignatius of Loyola, Vembar, Oct. 31, 1548, *DI,* 1:280.

19. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 14, 1549, *EX,* 2:23; and Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 14, 1549 (third *via*), *EX,* 2:30. On the importance of being loved, see Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Kochi, Jan. 12, 1549, *EX,* 2:7.

20. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Sept. 20, 1542, *EX,* 1:142.

21. Francis Xavier to members in Rome, Goa, Sept. 20, 1542, *EX,* 1:127.

22. Francis Xavier to members in Rome, Goa, Sept. 20, 1542, *EX,* 1:127.

23. For a similar process described in the case of mystics, see Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable* (translated from French, *La Fable Mystique* [Paris, 1982]) (Chicago, 1992), 178–79.

24. Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Sept. 20, 1542, *EX,* 1:142.

25. The designation Badaga (or *Vadaga*) was applied to the Telugu soldiers of the kings under Vijayanagara suzerainty. On recent anthropological work among the Mukkuvars, see Kalpana Ram, "The Catholic Church: Petty Raja of the Mukkuvars," in *Mukkuvar Women: Gender Hegemony and Capitalist Transformation in a South Indian Fishing Community* (Sydney/New Delhi, 1991).

26. Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História,* 1:164.

27. T. J. Clark attributed contingency and immediacy to modernity. T. J. Clark, "Painting in the Year Two," *Representations* 47 (summer 1994): 1–12.

28. Reinoso's painting was imitated by various other painters, see Vítor Serão, *A Lenda de São Francisco Xavier pelo Pintor André Reinoso* (Lisbon, 1993); and Serão, "Quadros da Vida de São Francisco Xavier," *Oceanos* 12 (1992), 56–69. Xavier's silver funerary casket, made by Goan silversmiths, does not follow the same iconography. Made by local artists and for a different audience, the scene is plotted as a direct physical confrontation. Xavier makes a menacing gesture toward the soldiers, one of whom is falling onto his back.

29. Francis Xavier to the members in Goa, Melaka, Dec. 16, 1545, *EX,* 1:325–26. Xavier proposed to rename the Moro Islands the Islands of Martyrs. Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, Kochi, Feb. 2, 1549, *EX,* 2:78.

30. D. Bartoli, S.J., *Historia della Compagnia di Giesù, Della vita e dell'Instituto di S. Ignatio fondatore della Compagnia di Giesù libri cinque* (Rome 1650).

31. Francis Xavier to Gaspar Barzaeus, Strait of Singapore, July 21, 1552, 2:468–75.

32. Županov, "The Prophetic and the Miraculous," 135–61.

33. It is mentioned in two letters. Melchior Gonçalves to the members of Coimbra, Goa, Nov. 9, 1548, *DI,* 1:315; and Gaspar Barzaeus to members in Coimbra, Goa, Dec. 13, 1548, *DI,* 1:402.

34. Melchior Gonçalves to the members of Coimbra, Goa, Nov. 9, 1548, *DI,* 1:312.

35. Economy in the sense of the management of resources.

36. The first two reports announcing Criminali's death were signed by the missionaries in Punnaikayal: One was sent by Frey Juan de Albuquerque, the bishop of Goa, who inserted it into his letter to the queen of Portugal (Oct. 20 or 25, 1549). The bishop of Portalegre made a copy of the letter in 1550. It was

sent to Loyola in Rome and was deposited in the ARSI, Goa 10, fols. 134r–35v. Missionaries of the Fishery Coast to the bishop of Goa, Punicale [Punnaikayal], June 19, 1549, *DI,* 1:481–84. The second letter was included in Baltasar Gago's letter to Coimbra (Oct. 1549) and from there mailed to Rome in 1551, ARSI, Goa 10, fol. 105r–v; and *DI,* 1:484–89. The Spanish version was sent to King João III by António Gomes, Goa, Oct. 1549, *DI,* 1:525–27.

37. *DI,* 1:486.

38. *DI,* 1:487.

39. *DI,* 1:532–46. Gomes's Spanish version sent to the king of Portugal is identical.

40. *DI,* 1:482–83.

41. Jesuits were not supposed to carry money on their persons. At the same time, it can be interpreted that the Badagas attacked for money because the captain was in fact involved in levying taxes from the pilgrims. The Badagas were intended precisely to stop this Portuguese tax post.

42. Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, Kochi, Jan. 27, 1545, *EX,* 1:282. This is a scathing report on rapacious Portuguese behavior in Asia.

43. *DI,* 1:484.

44. Francis Xavier to the members in Goa, Kagoshima, Nov. 5, 1549, *EX,* 2:198. See chapter 3.

45. On Criminali's Jesuit career in Italy, Portugal, and India, see G. Schurhammer, S.J., "Leben und Briefe Antonio Criminali's des Erstlingmärtyrers der Gesellschaft Jesu von P. Valmarana," in *Orientalia,* (Rome, 1963), 289–315.

46. António Gomes to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Oct. 25, 1549 (ARSI, Goa 10, fol.107, autograph), *DI,* 1:520.

47. Gaspar Barzaeus to Ignatius of Loyola, Hurmuz, Dec. 10, 1549, *DI,* 1:673–74.

48. Alphonso Cypriano to Ignatius of Loyola, S. Tomé, Dec. 3, 1549, *DI,* 1:591.

49. Manuel Teixeira, S.J., "Annotações nas cousas da Vida do P. Mestre Francisco que se hão de emendar no Livro dellas que foy pera Roma no anno de 1580," edited by J. Wicki, *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 69 (1952): 45–46.

50. Francis Xavier, instructions for the members at the Fishery Coast and in Travancore, Manappad, Feb. 1548, *EX,* 1:431. Xavier warned the missionaries on the Fishery Coast and in Travancore to take special care not to antagonize the captain and the Portuguese there—in spite of their bad behavior toward the Christians.

51. Xavier reprimanded Cypriano for his fervent and passionate behavior. Francis Xavier to Alfonso Cypriano, Goa, *EX,* 2:384–91.

52. Nicolò Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Kollam, Dec. 22, 1550, *DI,* 2:134.

53. Henrique Henriques to Ignatius of Loyola, Nov. 21, 1549, *DI,* 1:579.

54. Henrique Henriques to Giovanni Pietro Maffei, Punnaikayal, Dec. 15, 1583, *DI,* 12:948.

55. Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, praepositus generalis, Dec. 12, 1583, *DI,* 13:395–96, on the importance of "Archives."

56. *DI,* 12:948.
57. Wicki and Schurhammer call him a *proto-martyr.*
58. Nicolò Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Kollam, Jan. 25, 1550, *DI,* 2:12.
59. Nicolò Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Kollam, Jan. 27, 1550, *DI,* 2:18.
60. The college was endowed by the king of Portugal to educate "native" boys to prepare them for lower clerical jobs.
61. Francis Xavier to the members in Goa, Kagoshima, Nov. 5, 1549, *EX,* 2:198–99.
62. For a brief discussion of Ignatian *más, magis,* see J. W. O'Malley, *Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century,* chap. 9, p. 12.
63. *EX,* 2:196.
64. See letters in Loyola, *Ecrits:* Ignatius of Loyola to Juan de Polanco, Rome, Feb.–Mar. 1547 (no. 152), 691–93; Ignatius of Loyola to fathers and brothers of Coimbra, Rome, May 7, 1547 (no. 169), 693–701; Ignatius of Loyola to the members in Gandía, Rome, July 29, 1547 (no. 182), 716–72; Ignatius of Loyola to André Oviedo, Rome, Mar. 27, 1548 (no. 295), 727–30; Ignatius of Loyola to Francisco de Borja, duke of Gandía, Rome, Sept. 20, 1548 (no. 466), 735–37; and Ignatius of Loyola to the members in Portugal, Rome, Mar. 26, 1553 (no. 3304), 835–42.
65. See Victoria Kahn, "'The Duty to Love': Passion and Obligation in Early Modern Political Theory," *Representations* 68 (fall 1999), 84–107.
66. Loyola, *Constitutions,* 245 (para. 547).
67. Nicolò Lancilotto to Ignatius of Loyola, Kollam, Dec. 22, 1550, *DI,* 2:133.
68. *DI,* 2:133.
69. Francisco Perez to the members in Portugal, Melaka, Nov. 24, 1550, *DI,* 2:107.
70. The following two letters report on Luís Mendes's "martyrdom": André de Carvalho to Ignatius of Loyola, Coimbra, Oct. 22, 1553, *DI,* 3:30–31; and Henrique Henriques to the members in Portugal, Kadiyapattanam, Dec. 19–20, 1558, *DI,* 4:157–58. António de Quadros to Diego Miró, Goa, Dec. 6, 1555, *DI,* 3:346–47, described the torture and humiliations to which Henriques and other brothers on the Fishery Coast were subjected.
71. Henrique Henriques to Pietro Maffei, Punnaikayal, Dec. 15, 1583, *DI,* 12:948; and Henrique Henriques, *Dos Padres e Irmãos que na Pescaria são mortos, Punnaikayal,* Dec. 1583, *DI,* 12:934–35.
72. Marcos Nunez to António de Quadros, Punnaikayal, Oct. 24, 1559, *DI,* 4:266–67.
73. *Monumenta Peruana,* 2, 1576–81, edited by A. de Egaña (Rome, 1958), 313–17.
74. Luís Fróis to the members in Coimbra, Nov. 30, 1557, *DI,* 3:710.
75. Juan de Polanco to António de Quadros, Rome, Dec. 13, 1558, *DI,* 4:132.
76. For the collective translation (into French) and explication of the text: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée,* tome 111 (Rome, 1999), 1:277–344.

77. Melchior Nuñez, another Coimbra "hothead," did not die a martyr's death.

78. Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe siècle et du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1951). See in particular chap. 3, "Le martyre," 109–49.

79. San Stefano Rotondo, a Roman replica of the Church of the St. Sepulcher in Jerusalem, was turned over to the Society of Jesus by Gregory XIII for the German and Hungarian College. Pomarancio worked on the frescoes from 1580 to 1584. In 1585, G.-B. di Cavallieri published thirty-one engravings of Pomarancio's frescos in San Stefano Rotondo in Circignani Niccolo, Pomarancio, *Ecclesiae militantis Triumphi sive Deo amabilium Martyrum gloriosa pro Christi fide Certamina* (Rome: Bartolomeo Grassi, 1585). Bound in the same volume in the Bibliothèque Nacional in Paris (Estampes: Rd: 48/1), are engravings representing frescoes by the same artist in the Church of Sant' Apollinare and church of the English College in Rome, published by the same editor in 1586 and 1584, respectively. Vicenzo Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma* (Rome, 1942), 160; and F. Haskell, *Mécènes et peintre: L'art et la société au temps du baroque italien* (Paris, 1991) (English original 1980), 135–37. See also Thomas Buser, "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome," *Art Bulletin* (1976), 424–33; and Piazza, *Eorterologio* (Rome, 1702), 334.

80. Cardinal F. A. Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome* (London, 1920).

81. P-.A. Fabre, "Lieu de mémoire et paysage spirituel," in *Le Jardin, art et lieu de mémoire*, edited by M. Mosser and P. Nys (Paris, Besançon: Les Éditions de l'Imprimeur, 1995).

82. L. Richeôme, S.J., *La peinture spirituelle ou l'art d'admirer et louer Dieu en toutes ses oeuvres et tirer de toutes profit salutaire* (Lyon, 1611).

83. This was a mental operation whose purpose was similar but not identical to that of the strategies of mnemonic training developed in classical rhetoric, which reached their apogee in the Renaissance Hermetic tradition, P. A. Fabre, *Ignace de Loyola: Le lieu de l'image*, (Paris, 1992); and F. A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966).

CHAPTER FIVE

1. John Correia-Afonso, S.J., *Jesuit Letters and Indian History* (Bombay, 1955). See also Županov, *Disputed Mission*.

2. Among the growing literature on Jesuit scientific missions and achievements, see Giard, *Les jésuites à la Renaissance;* and John O'Malley, Gauvin A. Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto, 1999).

3. Murr, *L'Inde philosophique*.

4. On the first seven founding fathers of the Society of Jesus and their conception of a mobile apostolate, see O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*.

5. On the displacement of the frames of reference from religion to ethics, see Michel de Certeau's still unsurpassed statement in the chapter "The Formality of

Practices: From Religious Systems to the Ethics of Enlightenment (the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries)," in *The Writing of History,* 205.

6. For controversies raging over Latin American "Indians," see Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man.*

7. de Certeau, *Heterologies,* 68.

8. Erasme, "Le libre arbitre" (integral translation into French of the *Diatribè sive Collatio de libero arbitrio*), in *Erasme,* edited by Claude Blum André Godin, Jean-Claude Margolin, and Daniel Ménager (Paris, 1992), 763.

9. Devoid of morality, non-Christians were likened to a variety of inferior creatures from childlike imbeciles to brutish beasts. It is important to note that this newly "freed" human subjectivity was in fact increasingly seen as entrapped and enchained within a new golden cage of societal norms, rules, and customs. See, for example, John Martin, "Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence: The Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (Dec. 1997): 1309–42. For a seminal work on the difficulties and solutions concerning the conceptualization of the status of the American Indian in the sixteenth century, see Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man.*

10. The rehabilitation of the subaltern (gendered, tribal, local, indigenous, etc.) agency silenced by colonial historiography was at the heart of the project professed by the *Subaltern Studies* group of scholars and writers. For the recent critical discussion on epistemic results and inherent problems in this most prominent fin de siècle historiographical school in India, see Sumit Sarkar's recent article "Post-modernism and the Writing of History," *Studies in History* 15, no. 2 (July–Dec. 1999), 293–322; and the chapter "The Decline of the Subaltern in *Subaltern Studies,*" in his *Writing Social History* (Delhi: OUP, 1998), 82–108.

11. *DI,* 13:638. (Fenicio was born in 1558, entered the Society of Jesus in 1580, and went to India in 1583. He died in Cochin in 1632.) Separate from the official provincial catalogue providing information on Jesuit personnel, another confidential catalogue was attached by Alessandro Valignano, the provincial. Secret evaluations were a common and accepted practice among the Jesuits.

12. Of all the versions of his name—*Giacomo, Jacopo, Jacome,* and *Jácome* and *Fenicio, Fenizio,* and *Phinicio*—quite arbitrarily I have decided to use henceforth Jacome Fenicio. *DI,* 13:739.

13. For the history of the authorship attribution and the abridged published version of the text, see Jarl Charpentier, ed., *The* Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais *(Brit. Mus. Ms. Sloane 1820) of Father Jacobo Fenicio, S.J.* (Uppsala, 1933); Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1666–75) (EC.66.9, Archive Collection, SOAS, London); and Philippus Baldaeus, *Afgoderey der Oost-Indische Heydenen,* edited by A. J. de Jong (The Hague, 1917). The fact that Fenicio wrote in Portuguese instead of his native Italian can be taken, perhaps, as an indication that his text was for the internal use of the missionaries in the Malabar regions, all of whom spoke Portuguese.

14. A fairly legible and leather-bound manuscript is preserved in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu,* Goa 58. The published document is available in J. Wicki, S.J., *P. Diogo Gonçalves S.I., História do Malabar* (Rome, 1953). Diogo

Gonçalves was born in Vila Real in Portugal in 1561, joined the Society of Jesus in 1583, and arrived in Goa in 1591. He died in Kollam (Quilon) in 1640.

15. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 83.

16. Ibid., 85.

17. Ibid., 85–88.

18. Although the Council of Trent did provide a model against which to measure and judge all other forms, the situation was more complicated since even in Europe the assimilation of the new ecclesiastical canons was not fully accomplished before 1700. See John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985), 25.

19. The case is also often made about the effects of tropical concupiscence on Europeans by European travelers, Portuguese officials, and religious specialists.

20. Charpentier, *The* Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais, 4. *Tirikoṇam* (Tamil), the triangular figure, represents the female pelvic triangle; *cakkaram* (Tamil) equals *cakra* (Sanskrit).

21. *Egasourunam,* or as it appears later as *Egasourubão,* is supposed to mean "the one and only true god." Charpentier, *The* Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais, 41. *Curupam* (Tamil of Sanskrit origin) means "nature, an image, that which is well formed." *Ekam* (Tamil of Sanskrit origin) means "one, unity." J. P. Fabricius, *Tamil and English Dictionary* (1779) (Tranquebar, 1972), 148 and 420.

22. Charpentier, *The* Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais, 4. *Tevere* is probably an error collapsing two terms, *tevaram* (divine praises, songs) and *tevalayam* (a temple, sacred shrine). *Côvado* is an old measure equivalent to 0,66m.

23. On José de Acosta, see the important work by MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes,* 264–70. The case of Diego de Landa is discussed in detail by Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge, 1987). Matteo Ricci and his mission has recently attracted a huge amount of scholarly attention. Still the most challenging reading on the question and an excellent introduction is Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York, 1983).

24. Charpentier, *The* Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais, 5.

25. Ibid., 5. See Sebastião Rodolfo Delgado, *Glossário Luco-Asiático* (Coimbra, 1919), 395–98.

26. In the controversy between two Jesuits, Roberto Nobili and Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso, their Brahman informants often played one Jesuit clique against the other by switching sides and providing counterinformation, often contradicting their former statements. See Županov, *Disputed Mission.*

27. Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso called it *máquina do Bramanismo. Tratado do P.e Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso sobre o Hinduísmo* (Maduré, 1616), edited by Joseph Wicki (Lisbon, 1973).

28. Charpentier, *The* Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais, 8; and Steiner, *After Babel,* 40.

29. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 37.

30. David Dean Schulman, *Tamil Temple Myths: Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in South Indian Saiva Tradition* (Princeton, 1980), 107.

31. Charpentier, *The* Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais, 1.

32. Ibid., 9–10, 21, and 157.

33. Ibid., 10; and Klaus K. Klostermaier, *A Survey of Hinduism* (New York, 1989), 117

34. Stricto sensu, according to the Jesuit description of, and prescription for, human subjectivity, *personhood* would not be an appropriate word at all for Hindu and pagan human beings because the field of personal action and choice was too restricted. For an interesting view of the history and historiography of individualism in the Renaissance, see John Martin, "Inventing Sincerity," 1309–42. An interesting collection of articles dealing with Indian subjectivity was published in *Cahiers Confrontation* (Paris) 13 (spring 1985), 216 pp. Unfortunately, editorial misrepresentation of issues and authors seriously mars the whole project. For the most recent and excellent anthropological statement on the uneasy relation between culture and the individual in Tamil Nadu, see Nabokov, *Religion against the Self.*

35. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva* (Oxford, 1973) (my citation is from the French edition, Paris: Gallimard, 1993, 110).

36. In his effort at "configurating" the field of the Indian inner world by means of psychoanalysis, in his early study *The Inner World: A Psycho-analytic Study of Childhood and Society in India* (2nd ed. 1981; Delhi, 1989), 23, Sudhir Kakar discerned in Hindu mythology, "sexuality [as a] rampant flood of polymorphous pleasure and connection, disdaining the distinctions between the heterosexual, genital imperatives of conventional sex and sweeping away incestual taboos." This statement is in perfect accordance with the ideas expounded by Jesuit missionaries (Fenicio and Gonçalves) on the topic. The context and the aims of these theories (Jesuit and Kakar's) on Hindu sexuality are, of course, quite different.

37. Charpentier, *The* Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais, 22.

38. Fenicio's *Munis* or *rixis* designates without distinction a combination of major "priestly" roles in classical Hinduism, such as Vedic seers, sacrificers (*yajamana,* Sanskrit), Brahman priestly officiants, and renouncers. See J. C. Heesterman, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition: Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship, and Society* (Chicago, 1985).

39. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 42.

40. On early Christian ideas concerning sexual continence, virginity, and renunciation, see Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988).

41. Charpentier, *The* Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais, 171.

42. Ibid., 134.

43. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 63–66.

44. On Xavier's mission among the Portuguese in Asia, see Županov, "The Prophetic and the Miraculous," 135–61.

45. *DI,* 13:271–72.

46. See James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1997); and Gruzinski, *La pensée metisse*, for discus-

sions concerning similar conceptions such as "zones of contact" (Clifford) and "espaces de métissage" (Gruzinski).

47. For violence against women, violence between spouses and concubines, and, ultimately, vengeance against violent husbands by means of stupefying drugs (*datura*) and poisons, see, among many other narratives, Francesco Carletti, *Voyage autour du monde, 1594–1606* (translation from the Italian manuscript) (Paris, 1999), 248–57. Concerning the drug datura, which became the epitome of tropical licentiousness, see Orta, *Colóquios*, 1:295–301.

48. Timothy J. Coates, *Degredados e Órfãs: colonização dirigida pela coroa no império português. 1550–1755* (Lisbon 1998). The king's orphans were daughters of men who died in service of the king of Portugal. These women were sent to the colonies provided with dowries from the king.

49. François Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage de Pyrard de Laval aux Indes orientales (1601–1611)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1998); Jean Moquet, *Voyage en Éthiopie, Mozambique, Goa, & autres lieux d'Afrique & des Indes orientales (1607–1610)* (Paris, 1996); Valle, *The Travels of Pietro della Valle;* and Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten.*

50. Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws,* book 15, 47.

51. H. Henriques to I. Lainez, Mannar, Dec. 19, 1561, *DI,* 5:382.

52. F. de Borja to A. de Quadros, Rome, Nov. 29, 1565, *DI,* 6:526.

53. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 56.

54. For the most recent overview of the period, see Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal.*

55. Augustine, *The City of God,* book 15, chap. 12, 350.

56. Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge, 1983).

57. Bossy, *Christianity in the West,* 25.

58. André Duval, *Des sacrements au Concile de Trente: rites et symboles* (Paris, 1985), 281–325.

59. Varthema, *Itinerario de Ludovico di Varthema Bolognese . . . nel anno MDX*. I have consulted *Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508* (translated from the Italian edition of 1510) (London: Hakluyt Society, 1863; reprint, New Delhi, 1997).

60. Barbosa, *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa,* 2:165–70. English translation in *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, 2:43–45. On Conti, see Rubies, *Travel and Ethnology,* 85–124.

61. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 95.

62. Ibid., 8 (repeated on 15). Varna means "color" in Sanskrit and represents the division of the society into four subgroups.

63. Ibid., 87. *Juncão* (*chumkam,* Malayalam) is a custom house in Malabar. Delgado, *Glossário Luco-Asiático*, 497.

64. John O'Malley is of the opinion that the Jesuit penchant for attracting elites was widely exaggerated. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 71.

65. Alessandro Valignano, Matteo Ricci, and Roberto Nobili defended their ministries among the local elites under the heading of "accommodation" to indige-

nous cultures. See Alessandro Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas de Japon* (1583) (Tokyo, 1954); Lionel M. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization* (Durham, 1997); and Županov, *Disputed Mission.*

66. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 11–12.

67. Ibid., 11. See Kathleen Gaugh, "Nayar: Central Kerala," in *Matrilineal Kinship*, edited by David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gaugh (Berkeley, 1961), 306–12.

68. Gaugh, "Nayar: Central Kerala," 319–23.

69. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 11.

70. Ines G. Županov, "Le repli du religieux: Les missionnaires jésuites du XVIIe siècle entre la theologie chrétienne et une éthique païenne," *Annales* 6 (1996), 1211–23.

71. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 95.

72. Ibid., 95.

73. Ibid., 96.

74. Ibid., 88–90.

75. James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, edited by George Marcus and James Clifford (Berkeley, 1986), 100.

76. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 97.

77. Ibid., 99.

78. *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, Fasciculo 4 (*que contem os Concílios de Goa e o Sýnodo de Diamper*) (Nova Goa, 1862; reprint, 1992), 439–54. See also Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Dom Frei Aleixo de Meneses (1559–1617) et l'échec des tentatives d'indigénisation du christianisme en Inde," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 103 (1998), 21–42.

79. Charpentier, *The* Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais, 165.

80. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 102–3.

81. José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure* (Minneapolis, 1986), 157.

82. Baltasar Gracián, *El discreto*, in OC (Madrid, 1960), *discurso* 10, 103.

83. G. Fessard, *La dialectique des Exercices Spirituels de Saint Ignace de Loyola* (Paris, 1956), 191.

84. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 72–73.

85. Charpentier, *The* Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais, 67.

86. Wicki, *P. Diogo Gonçalves,* 115.

87. Liberation and Dalit theology represent an effort at breaking away, though not completely successful, from this entrenched principle. See Clémentin-Ojha, "Indianisation et enracinement," 107–33; and Felix Wilfred, "Inculturation as a Hermeneutical Question: Reflections in the Asian Context," *Vidyajyoti* (Sept. 1988), 422–36.

88. In fact, a Jesuit, Roberto Nobili, working at the same time across the Western Ghats in Tamil country, had already both enshrined the Brahmanical model as the highest in the society and had accommodated his own missionary behavior to fit into its cultural field.

CHAPTER SIX

1. In 1576, Gregory XIII issued a general exemption—*Unigeniti Dei filii,* Feb. 10, 1576—for Jesuit doctors, under the proviso that other doctors were not available in the region. See L. Delplace, *Synopsis Actorum S. Sedis in causa Societatis Iesu, 1540–1605* (Florence, 1887), 79 n. 70. See also *Institutum Societatis Jesu* (Prague, 1757), 1:53–54; and O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 172.

2. André Vauchez, *La spiritualité du Moyen Age occidental, VIIIe–XIIIe siècle* (PUF, 1975; Seuil, Paris, 1994); Delumeau, *Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire;* and Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Cambridge, MA, 1971).

3. See Loyola, *Constitutions,* 351.

4. Editions of and literature on the *Spiritual Exercises* is prodigious. For the French translation and introduction, see Loyola, *Écrits.* See also Fabre, *Ignace de Loyola;* Sylvie Robert, *Le Discernement ignacien selon les Exercices spirituel* (Paris, 1997); and Juan Plazaola, *Las Fuentes de los Ejercicios espirituales de san Ignacio* (Bilbao, 1998). Certeau, *Heterologies,*153. Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York, 1959), 208–38. Herbert Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1969).

5. The *Formula of the Institute of the Society of Jesus* is an important document, a product of the discussion among the founding fathers in Rome in view of presenting their project for papal approval in 1539. Loyola, *Constitutions,* 66; and O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 5.

6. Loyola, *Constitutions,* 64.

7. Ibid., 97 (para. 66).

8. Ibid., 99 (para. 74). However, it remained within the general's power to allow a novice to omit service in a hospital as well as any other experiences, 315 (para. 748).

9. For the history of the Misericórdia in Portugal, see the doctoral dissertation by Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, "A Rainha da Misericórdia na história da espiritualidade em Portugal na época do Renascimento," 3 vols., University of Porto, 1992; and Sousa, *Da Descoberta da Misericórdia à Fundação das Misericórdias (1498–1525)* (Porto, 1999). See also articles in the commemorative issue of the journal *Oceanos:* "Misericórdias, Cinco Séculos," *Oceanos,* 35 (July/Sept. 1998). For the working of the Misericórdia in the colonies, see A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *Fidalogs and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Bahia, 1550–1755* (Berkeley, 1968); and Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, *Quando o rico se faz pobre: Misericórdias, caridade e poder no império português 1500–1800* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1997). On printed documents about the Misericórdia in Goa, see José F. Ferreira Martins, *História da Misericórdia de Goa (1520–1910),* 3 vols. (Nova Goa, 1910–14). Leopoldo da Rocha, "Conspecto Histórico-Canónico (As confrarias de Goa no século XVI–XVII)," *Studia* 34 (1972) and 35 (1972). Leopoldo da Rocha, *As Confrarias de Goa* (Lisboa, 1973).

10. Loyola, *Constitutions,* 269 (para. 603). The whole world was the Jesuit mission. See John, W. O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 16 (Mar. 1984).

11. See my "Drugs, Health, Bodies and Souls in the Tropics: Medical Experiments in Sixteenth-Century Portuguese India," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 39, no. 1 (2002): 1–43.

12. Some token Jesuit doctors and scientists or other Jesuit-trained secular "specialists" were at times sent to Indian kings and grandees. Without ever succeeding in converting the "infidels" to Christianity, some of them settled quite comfortably in the role of royal advisers. Gauvin Baily "A Portuguese Doctor at the Maharaja of Jaipur's Court," *South Asian Studies* 11 (1995), 51–62; and J. B. Amancio Gracias, *Médicos Europeus em Goa e nas Cortes Indianas nos séculos XVI a XVIII* (Bastorá, 1939).

13. Claudius Acquaviva, *Industiae pro superioribus ejusdem societati ad curandos animae morbos* (Anvers, 1635); Acquaviva, *Industrie et moyens pour remedier aux maladies spririttuelles de l'âme* (Paris, 1625) (same in translation by Mirabeau, 1895, Paris); and Acquaviva, *Le médecin spirituel* (Paris, 1631).

14. The "mixed" families of the casados, that is, the Portuguese merchant-settlers, were especially suspected of practicing superstitious ceremonies. The wives and concubines of the casados and their mestiço progeny were of various Asian origins. On the development of the Luso-Indian society in Goa, see Thomaz, "Goa," 245–89.

15. Ignorant of Xavier's death on the island of Sanciam on November 2, 1552, Ignatius of Loyola wrote to Francis Xavier on June 28, 1553, ordering him to quickly return to Rome. The original document is in BNL, *Pombal,* 745, fols. 29r–30v, published in *DI,* 3:1–5. See also Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 4:673.

16. Also referred to as Micer or Misser Paulo in the Jesuit correspondence, he was born in Camerino and died in Goa in 1560. See *EX,* 1:6*, 342–43. The most recent, somewhat hagiographic account of his life is found in Anthony D'Costa, *The Call of the Orient* (Mumbai, 1999).

17. Loyola requested permission for spiritual coadjutors in 1546 and was permitted to nominate them only as long as they were needed. Loyola, *Constitutions,* 354.

18. The official Jesuit definition of the difference between a professed father and a spiritual coadjutor was education. The former were selected for their learning and were licensed to teach theology.

19. In Rome, the New Christians were more easily accepted, even as professed fathers. Diogo Laínez, the general of the Society of Jesus, and a prominent Jesuit such as Antonio Possevino and Pedro de Ribadeneyra were all of New Christian blood. In Asia, under the Portuguese padroado, even the Jesuits considered accepting and promoting New Christians politically unwise. Many of the letters by Francis Xavier, Alessandro Valignano, and Alberto Laerzio refer to this situation. See the article by Pierre-Antoine Fabre, "La conversion infinie des *conversos:* Des 'nouveaux-chrétiens' dans la Compagnie de Jésus au16e siècle," *Annales* 54th year, no. 4 (July–August 1999), 851–74.

20. See chap. 7.

21. On love as a form of early modern solidarity and its political meaning in Portugal, see an excellent article by Pedro Cardim, "Amor e Amizade na Cultura Política dos Séculos XVI e XVII," *Lusitania Sacra* 11, 2nd series (1999): 21–57.

22. On the ministry of peacemaking, see O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 168–71.

23. P.-A. Fabre and Ines G. Županov, "Entrar con el otro y salir con sigo," presentation at the seminar in Paris, Centre Sèvres (Luce Giard), 1990.

24. Gaspar Barzaeus to Ignatius of Loyola, Jan. 12, 1553, ARSI, Goa 10, fol. 267v.

25. Sebastião Gonçalves to the brothers of the Society in Portugal Goa, Sept. 10, 1562, ARSI, Goa 11 I, fols. 85r–88v. See also BNL, *Fundo Geral,* MS 4534, fols. 374r–75v; and Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências, Lisbon, *Cartas do Japão, II,* fols. 81r–82r.

26. Brother Manuel Pereira to a brother in the Évora college. Goa, Dec. 3, 1563, BNL, *Fundo Geral,* MS 4534, fol. 338r–v.

27. Thomaz, "A Crise de 1565–1575." In a document written in 1569 by Dom Jorge Temudo, the archbishop of Goa, the *idade dourada* was applied to the period of Albuquerque's reign for the first time. See Wicki, "Duas Relações sobre a situação," 8:123–221.

28. An average number of Jesuit fathers per ship was one or two. However, on some ships no Jesuits traveled to Goa, and sometimes there were huge expeditions, such as that of forty-one members led by Alessandro Valignano in 1574. For the practice of missa sicca, see *DI,* 2:222 n. 5.

29. Jacobus Soveral to the members in Portugal, Goa, Nov. 5, 1554, ARSI, Goa 10 II, fols. 313r–14v and 319r–20v.

30. Loyola, *Écrits,* 538; Loyola, *Constitutions,* pt. 6, chap. 3.

31. On "guided culture," see Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque,* 57–78.

32. For some of the most interesting contributions in the large literature on this topic, see Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man;* and MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes.* Gruzinski, *La pensée metisse.*

33. Catarina Madeira Santos, *"Goa é a chave de toda a Índia": Perfil político da capital do Estado da Índia (1505–1570)* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1999).

34. In fact, this ecclesiastical act—in this respect not a Jesuit monopoly—was a manner of permanent challenge to the royal authority since the royal pardon applied only to the body and its terrestrial existence, while the pardon of a confessor resuscitated a soul to eternal life.

35. Bernardo Gomes de Brito, *Historia Tragico Maritima: Em que se escrevem chronologicamente os Naufragios que tiverão as Naus de Portugal, depois que se poz em exercicio a Navegação da India,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1735–36) (anthology of twelve shipwrecks). See also the French translation (in abridged form), *Histoires tragico-maritimes: Trois naufrages portugais au XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1999).

36. Aleixo Dias to Luís Gonçalves da Câmara, Ormuz, Sept. 24, 1553, Biblioteca da Ajuda, *Eborensis I,* fols. 228r–30v.

37. *Determinação e asemto pera a ordem da casa,* written in Goa, June 27, 1546, by Nicolò Lancilotto, ARSI, Goa 22 I, fol. 48v.

38. João Manuel Pacheco de Figueiredo, "Goa dourada nos séculos XVI e XVII: O hospital dos pobres do padre Paulo Camerete [Camerino], esboco de sua reconstituição histórica," *Studia* 25 (1968): 117–46.

39. Reymão Pereira to Luís Gonçalves da Câmara, Goa, Dec. 8, 1552, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, *Ulyssiponensis* 1, fols.162v–563r.

40. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 249.

41. Pedro Afonso has at least two homonyms, both physicians in Goa. See Augusto de Silva Carvalho, *Garcia d'Orta* (Coimbra, 1934), 108–9.

42. Today the Church of St. Xavier.

43. Obviously, an important economic principle had been already enshrined—that of depending on and using local resources (money and labor). The only legitimately required imports from Rome and Europe were indulgences, religious paintings and vestments, books, rosaries, relics—that is, the objects of spiritual or cultic value. In the long run, even these would be mostly produced by local artisans and consecrated by local bishops and local saintly figures and martyrs. Cash, on the other hand, would be chronically lacking, especially in the "expensive" accommodationist missions. Antonio Vico had to use his own family inheritance to finance the Madurai mission. See my *Disputed Mission.*

44. Gaspar Barzaeus to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, Jan. 12, 1553, ARSI, Goa 10 I, fol. 567v.

45. *Regras de casa jerais da ordem do bom Jesu noso Salvador,* written by Gaspar Barzaeus, (rules for the College of St. Paul in Goa), Sept. or Oct. 1552, ARSI, Goa 10 II, fols. 489v–90r.

46. *Cathálogo de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía desta Provincia de la India Oriental,* written in Oct. 1575, ARSI, Goa 25 I, fol. 88v.

47. In 1586, Valignano informed Acquaviva that the majority of physicians in Goa were *cristianos nuevos*, ignorant of their art and not inspiring confidence. *DI,* 14, 294–95.

48. Orta, *Colóquios.* I use the annotated edition by Conde de Ficalho, published in 1891 and reprinted in 1987.

49. On the development of yunani and ayurvedic medical practices, their mutual influences, and the interaction with the Hippocratic/Galenic system imported by the Europeans, see various articles in Charles Leslie, *Asian Medical Systems: A Comparative Study* (1976; Delhi, 1998). Various books and articles by Francis Zimmermann are the most analytical (and the best) introduction to ayurvedic medical practices. Francis Zimmermann, *La jungle et le fumer des viandes* (Paris, 1982).

50. Diego Pacheco, S.J., "Luis de Almeida, 1525–1583, Medico, Caminante, Apostol," *Studia* 26 (1969).

51. Fernando A. R. Nogueira, "Luís de Almeida and the Introduction of European Medicine in Japan," in *The Great Maritime Discoveries and World Health,* edited by Mário Gomes Marques and John Cule (Lisbon, 1991).

52. Pedro Afonso to the European members, Goa, Dec. 1, 1560, *DI,* 4:745–51. Also published in *SR,* 8:168–73; and in Carvalho, *Garcia d'Orta,* 184–87. Pedro Afonso inherited the hospital from Micer Paulo Camerino, whom he nursed until his death in 1560.

53. Gomes Vaz to Leon Henriques, Goa, Nov. 29, 1566, *DI,* 7:66.

54. See my "Drugs, Health, Bodies and Souls."

55. Ignatius of Loyola launched a campaign in 1543 to reinvigorate an old decree of the Lateran Council of 1215, *Cum infirmitas,* stressing the healing quality of the sacrament of penitence. The doctors were thus forbidden to treat patients

who had not been confessed. It seems that this policy was never universally applied except in Rome and some other Italian towns. See Pietro Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia* (Rome, 1951), vol. 2 pt. 2, 190–95.

56. Duarte Leitão to the members of the Portuguese province, Goa, Nov. 16, 1570, BNL, *Fundo Geral,* MS 4532, fols. 80r–83r.

57. *Cathalogo dos Padres e Irmãos que residem neste collegio de São Paulo de Goa e nas igrejas que estão à obedientia delle a 2 de Dezembro de 1566,* ARSI, Goa 24 I, fols. 45r, 50: Brother Pedro Afonso, admitted here (in Goa) at thirty-three years old, after ten years in the Society and eight since he gave his student vows, took care of the hospital. He was a surgeon and a pharmacist. *Catalogo dos Padres e Irmãos deste collegio de São Paulo de Goa, Dec. 13, 1567,* ARSI, Goa 24 I, fol. 50r: Pedro Afonso—in Goa, College of St. Paul. *Catallogo dos Padres e Irmão que estão neste collegio de Guoa, Anno de 1568,* ARSI, Goa 24 I, fol. 52r: in Margão in the Church of the Holy Spirit, from where they go to the Church of St. Myguel (in Orlim). Brother Pedro Afonso and three Jesuits (one brother and two fathers). Gonçalo Alvares to Francisco de Borja, Goa, Dec. 1568, ARSI, Goa 11 II, fol. 508r–v. The Hospital of the Poor Natives transferred to the village of Margão.

58. Duarte Leitão to the members of the Portuguese province, Goa, Nov. 16, 1570, BNL, *Fundo Geral,* MS 4532, fols. 81v–82r.

59. Duarte Leitão to the members of the Portuguese province, Goa, Nov. 16, 1570, BNL, *Fundo Geral,* MS 4532, fol. 82v.

60. Duarte Leitão to the members of the Portuguese province, Goa, Nov. 16, 1570, BNL, *Fundo Geral,* MS 4532, fols. 82v–83r.

61. For a brief discussion of Ignatian más, magis, see O'Malley, *Religious Culture,* chap. 9, 12.

62. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado,* c. 1, d. 1, para. 39.

63. Ibid.

64. Technically, it was the king's conscience that was endangered by the acts of his officials and subjects. See Santos, *"Goa é a chave de toda a Índia,"* 188–91.

65. See letter by Viceroy Dom Francisco Coutinho, Conde do Redondo, Nov. 27, 1563, in *Archivo Portugues Oriental* (henceforth *APO*), edited by J. H. da Cunha Rivara (Nova-Goa, 1865; reprint, Madras, 1992), fasc. V/2, 543–45.

66. *APO,* fasc. IV, 25.

67. *APO,* fasc. IV, 132.

68. In the long run, from the early seventeenth century on, as ample evidence shows, medical practice in Goa would be mostly in the hands of Hindu physicians or Goan Christians. From around 1618, they were submitted to examination before the físico-mór of the Estado da Índia, who then issued "cartas da examinação (examination letters)." João Maneul Pacheco de Figueiredo, "Goa Pre-Portuguesa," *Studia* 13–14 (1964); and Viriato de Albuquerque, *O Senado de Goa* (Nova Goa, 1910), 423.

69. Christóvão Leitão to the general, Cochin, Feb. 9, 1571, ARSI, Goa 12 I, fol. 243v.

70. Luís de Gouvea to the members in Lisbon, Kollam, Jan.12, 1564, ARSI, Goa 11 I, fol. 196v.

71. On South Indian alchemical medical tradition or *Siddha* medicine, see Kamil V. Zvelebil, *The Poets of Powers* (London, 1973).

72. Županov, *Disputed Mission.*

73. See chapter 5.

74. Henrique Henriques to Diogo Laínez, Mannar, Dec. 19, 1561, ARSI, Goa 8 II, fol. 294r. Garcia da Orta provided a list of plants with aphrodisiac qualities. As for the French plant *raiz angelica* (or *raiz do Espirito Santo* or *emperatoria*), "for repressing the delectation of the flesh," he said that it could not be sold in India because everybody wanted just the opposite. Orta, *Colóquios,* 1:105.

75. Diogo Laínez to Henrique Henriques, Trent, Dec. 12, 1562, *DI,* 5:661.

76. Francisco de Borja to António de Quadros, Rome, Nov. 29, 1565, *DI,* 6:526. See Chapter 5, p. 19.

77. In my article "Le repli du religieux," 1201–23, I argued that Nobili narrowed down the definition of religious customs to the point of the disappearance of their religious contents, as if all customs were ultimately social.

78. Leitão told a story of a gentile physician who mocked Christian religion and extolled his own remedies against smallpox. When he fell sick and died, Leitão reported that the Christians took his death as the work of divine justice. Duarte Leitão to the members of the Portuguese province, Goa, Nov. 16, 1570, BNL, *Fundo Geral,* MS 4532, fols. 82v–83r.

79. Roy Porter, "Les stratégies thérapeutique," in *Historie de la pensée médicale en Occident, 2, De la Renaissance à la Lumière,* edited by Mirko D. Grmek (Seuil, 1997), 200.

80. Carlo M. Cipolla, *Public Health and the Medical Profession in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1976), 5. Cipolla quoted with approval Dr. Neuburger, who defined the Galenic system of medicine as "a formulated ignorance."

81. Mirko D. Grmek, "La main, instrument de la connaissance et du traitement," in *Historie de la pensée médicale en Occident, 2, De la Renaissance à la Lumière,* edited by Mirko D. Grmek (Seuil, 1997), 225.

82. "Especial graça de Deos tinha no toque das suas mãos," Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado,* segunda parte, c 1, d 1, 39.

83. Quoted in Grmek, "La main," 225—Michel de Montaigne, *Children and Fathers,* book 2, chap. 37.

84. Gonçalo Alvares to Francisco de Borja, Goa, Dec. 1568, ARSI, Goa 11 II, fols. 508r–v; and Sebastião Fernandes to Francisco de Borja, Goa, Nov. 1569, ARSI, Goa 31, fol. 225r.

85. The church was built by the order of Afonso de Albuquerque. See Correa, *Lendas da India,* 2:459; and Luís Fróis to the members in Portugal, Cochin, Nov. 1560, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, *Ulyssiponensis 2,* fols.227v–28r.

86. Luís Fróis to the members in Coimbra, Goa, Nov. 30, 1557, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, *Ulyssiponensis* 2, fol.106v.

87. See Pratima Kamat, *Farar Far: Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa, 1510–1912* (Panji, 1999); and J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *A conjuração de 1787 em Goa e varias cousas desse tempo: Memoria Histórica* (Panjim, 1875) (English translation, *Goa and the Revolt of 1787,* edited by Charles J. Borges, S.J. [Panji, 1996]).

88. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado,* segunda parte, c. 1, d. 1, para. 7.

89. *Ganvkar* (*gauncar, gancar, gaonkar*) is a Konkani word meaning a member of a village (*gão* or *gamv* from the Sanskrit *grama*). In a traditional system of village organization, known as the ganvkari system, the village dwellers were divided into original settlers (ganvkars) and various service groups recruited from outside the village.

90. Sebastião Fernandes to Francisco de Borja, Goa, Nov. 1569, ARSI, Goa 31, fol. 224v–25r. In 1573 in the city of Goa, the hospital for poor Christians was under the jurisdiction of the Misericóridia. See the text from Nov. 1576, written by Luís Lopes, ARSI, Goa 22 II, fol. 531r–v.

91. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado,* segunda parte, c. 1, d. 2, para. 29.

92. Gomes Vaz to the general, Goa, Nov. 15, 1575, *DI,* 10:88; and Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India: From the Middle of the Sixteenth Century to the End of the Seventeenth Century (1542–1700)* (Bangalore, 1982), 2:335.

93. Gomes Vaz to the general, Goa, Nov. 14, 1576, ARSI, Goa 3, fol. 296v.

94. Gomes Vaz to the general, Goa, Nov. 14, 1576, ARSI, Goa 31, fol. 404. See also Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado,* segunda parte, c. 1, d. 2, para. 29.

95. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 171.

96. Alessandro Valignano to the general, Goa, Dec. 25, 1574, *DI,* 9:512.

97. Alessandro Valignano to the general, Chorão, Nov. 3, 1576, *DI,* 10:605.

98. *Catalogo dos Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesu que forão mandados hà India Oriental, Anno 1574,* ARSI, Goa 24, fol. 73v.

99. Alessandro Valignano, quae desiderantur in facultatibus haec sunt, Genoa, before Oct. 25, 1573, ARSI, Goa 24 I, fol. 77v; Alessandro Valignano to Antonio Possevino, Lisbon, Feb. 6, 1574, *DI,* 9; and Alessandro Valignano, *Ripartitione delle navi,* Lisbon, before Mar. 8, 1574, ARSI, Goa 24 I, fol. 75.

100. Alessandro Valignano to the general, Lisbon, Mar. 8, 1574, *DI,* 9:214.

101. *Catalogo dos Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesu que forão mandados hà India Oriental, Anno 1574,* ARSI, Goa 24, fol.73v.

102. Giulio Piani to the general, Mozambique, August 7, 1574, ARSI, Goa 12 I, fol. 186v.

103. Loyola, *Constitutions,* paras. 296–301.

104. Ibid., obedience to the physicians is prescribed in para. 89.

105. Alessandro Valignano to Francesco de Santo, rector of the college in Macerata, Mozambique, Aug. 6, 1574, *DI,* 9:387–89.

106. Alessandro Valignano to the general, Goa, Dec. 25, 1574, *DI,* 9:523. In Portugal, António Velês's apparent psychological derangement was taken for special mystical devotion. He went back and was later dismissed.

107. *Communium informationum cathalogus Patrum ac Fratrum Societatis Iesu de Orientalis Indiae Provincia, mense Octobri anni 1575, ordinatus Goae a patre Provinciali et caet.,* ARSI, Goa 24 I, fol. 87r.

108. *Catálogo de los Padres y Hermanos de la Provincia de la India Oriental, hecho en Goa a los 23 de Henero de 1576,* ARSI, Goa 24 I, fol. 115r; and *Catalogo dos Padres e Irmãos da Provincia da India Oriental feito em Goa a 10 de Novembro de 1576,* ARSI, Goa 24 I, fol. 117r.

109. Alessandro Valignano to the general, Bassein, Jan. 3, 1577, ARSI, Goa 12 II, fol. 416r.

110. The old Old Christian doctor who died was Dimas Bosque. Alessandro Valignano to the general, Goa, Dec. 25, 1574, *DI,* 9:484–85.

111. Alessandro Valignano to the general, Goa, Sept. 16, 1577, *DI,* 10:899. Gregory XIII, *Unigeniti Dei Filii,* Feb. 10, 1576; see Delplace, *Synopsis actorum,* 79 n. 70.

112. Alessandro Valignano to the general, Goa, between Sept. 16 and 20, 1577, *DI,* 10:907.

113. Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (New York, 1972), 24.

114. For a larger perspective on Akbar's relation with the Estado da Índia, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "A Matter of Alignment: Mughal Gujarat and the Iberian World in the Transition of 1580–81," *Mare Liberum* (Lisbon) 9 (1995); and Subrahmanyam, "O 'inimigo encuberto': a expansão Mogol no Decão e o Estado da Índia, c. 1600," *Povos e culturas* 5 (1996).

115. Ruy Vicente to the general, Goa, Nov. 13, 1579, ARSI, Goa 12 II, fol. 497v.

116. Francesco Pasio to the general, Goa, Nov. 15, 1579, ARSI, Goa 12 II, fol. 489r. One of the reasons could be that he was dismissed in 1581 and that the letters were ordered destroyed. Pasio hinted in his letter that the general should be able to see Loffreda's deranged mind in these letters.

117. Ruy Vicente to the general, Nov. 17, 1579, ARSI, Goa 12 II, fol. 507r.

118. Loffreda wrote letters to Akbar, but they were intercepted and sent to the general by Ruy Vicente in 1579.

119. Third (and fourth) archbishop of Goa, a Dominican, Dom Frey Henrique de Távora e Brito (1578–81) was poisoned in Chaul. See Gonçalves, *Primeira parte da História,* 2:437; and António Lourenço Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente,* Ministério das Colónias, 2 (1943), 192.

120. Nuno Rodrigues to the general, Goa, Oct. 24, 1580, ARSI, Goa 47, fol. 136r–v.

121. About the Royal Hospital and the reasons it was given to the administration of the Jesuits, see Ruy Vicente to the general, Goa, Nov. 13, 1579, ARSI, Goa 12 II, fol. 497v.

122. Francesco Pasio to the general, Goa, Oct. 27, 1580, ARSI, Goa 47, fols. 133v–34r.

123. Ruy Vicente to the general Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, Oct. 13, 1981, ARSI, Goa 47, fol. 176v. The fidalgo was Don Fernando de Monrroy, a former captain of Sofala. According to Nuno Rodrigues, the money was sent to the fathers in São Roque, in Lisbon, to be given to the general, who was to decide whether it should be given to Loffreda's sister. Nuno Rodrigues to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, Nov. 7, 1581, ARSI, Goa 47, fol. 194r.

124. Ruy Vicente to Acquaviva, Goa, Nov. 6–7, 1981, ARSI, Goa 47, fol. 334v.

125. Laerzio to Acquaviva, Goa, Nov. 3, 1581, ARSI, Goa 47, fols.156r–57v.

126. Pasio to Acquaviva, Goa, Nov. 5, 1581, ARSI, Goa 47, fols. 199r–200v.

127. Carvalho, *Garcia d'Orta,* 73 and 79. Quoted from *Repertorio geral de tres mil oitocentos processos, que sam todos os despachados neste Sancto Officio de Goa, & mais partes da India do anno de Mil & secenta & hum, que começou o dito Sancto Officio até o anno Mil & seis centos & vinte e tres, cõ a lista dos Inquisidores que tem sido nelle, & dos autos publicos da Fee que se tem celebrado na dita cidade de Goa, Feito pelo Licenciado João Delgado Figueyra do Desembargo de sua Magestade, Promotor & Deputado do dito Sancto Officio: Anno de M.D.C.XXIII,* BNL, codex 203.

128. Gracias, *Health and Hygiene,* 155.

129. *APO,* fasc. 4, 132.

130. Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa,*1:317.

131. *APO,* fasc. 4, 176. Also see Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia,* vol. 2, pt. 2, 190–95.

132. Loffreda to Benedicto Palmio, Goa, Mar. 20, 1581, ARSI, Goa 47, fol. 169r.

133. Pasio to Acquaviva, Goa, Nov. 5, 1581, ARSI, Goa 47, fols. 199r–200v.

134. Adrien Demoustier, S.J., "Les catalogues du personnel de la province de Lyon en 1587, 1606 et 1636," *AHSI* 42 and 43 (1973 and 1974); and Edmond Lamalle, S.J., "Les Catalogues des provinces et des domiciles de la Compagnie de Jésus," *AHSI* 13 (1944).

135. Charlotte de Castelnau-l'Estoile, *Les Ouvriers d'une Vigne stérile: Le jésuite et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil, 1580–1620* (Lisbon-Paris, 2000), 175–92.

136. Loyola, *Constitutions,* 290 (para. 666).

137. Nadal said the whole world is our house. See O'Malley, "To Travel to any Part."

138. Gomes Vaz to Mercurian, Goa, Oct. 20, 1578, ARSI, Goa 31, 404v–5r.

139. Francesco Pasio to the general, Goa. Oct. 27, 1580, ARSI, Goa 47, fol. 133v–34r.

140. Ruy Vicente to the general, Goa, Nov. 13, 1579, ARSI, Goa 12 II, fol. 497v.

141. "Ordem que cad dia se há-de ter no Hospital," DI, 13:865–74. Also published in Rivara, J. H. da Gunha, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental,* fasc. 5, part 3, 1006–51.

142. Lynn A. Martin, *Plague? Jesuit Accounts of Epidemic Disease in the 16th Century* (Kirksville, MO, 1996), 200.

143. Francesco Pasio to Laurentio Pasio, Oct. 28 and Nov. 30, 1578, *DI,* 11:367.

144. Ignatio Iparraguirre, "Élaboration de la spiritualité des jésuites, 1556–1606," in *Les jésuites: spiritualité et activités jalons d'une histoire* (Rome, 1974), 43. Quotation from *Epistoalei praepositorum genralium* [. . .] (Gand, 1847), 78–79, t. 1.

145. See articles in C. Petit, ed., *Las Pasiones del jurista: Amor, memoria, melancolía imaginación* (Madrid, 1997). Especially, António Hespanha, "La senda amorosa del derecho: *Amor* y *iustitia* en el discurso jurídico moderno," 21–71.

146. Antonio Possevino, *Cause et rimedii della peste, et d'altre infermità* (Florence, 1577); Lynn A. Martin, *Plague?;* and Acquaviva, *Industiae pro superioribus.*
147. Paulo José Carvalho da Silva, *A Tristeza na Cultura Luso-Brasileira: Os Sermões do Padre Antonio Vieira* (São Paulo, 2000), 67.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Henrique Henriques, *Flos sanctorum eṉṟu aṭiyār varalāṟu,* ed. S. Rajamanickam (Tuticorin, 1967). The original (342 folios) is kept in the Vatican Library. Joseph Wicki, S.J., "O 'Flos Sanctorum' do P. H. Henriques, impresso na língua tamul em 1586," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* (Goa), 73 (1956), 42–49.
2. Fernando Jesús Bouza Álvares, *Portugal no Tempo dos Filipes: Política, Cultura, Representações (1580–1668)* (Lisbon: Cosmos, 2000).
3. For the Indian accommodationist mission headed by Roberto Nobili, see Županov, *Disputed Mission.* Roberto Nobili, in particular, endeavored to efface the derogatory title *Parangi* (*Frangue, Frangui, Firingi,* etc.) applied in his mission in the heart of Tamil country to Portuguese and to Jesuit converts. See S. R. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático* vol. 2 (Coimbra, 1919). Still unsurpassed is the book on Matteo Ricci by Spence, *The Memory Palace.*
4. Henriques, *Flos sanctorum,* 7.
5. Ibid., 507.
6. Ibid., 6.
7. Xavier called Paravas his pearls. Gonçalves, *Primeira parte da História.* On Parava conversion and Christianization see Susan Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings;* and I. G. Županov, "Prosélytisme et pluralisme religieux: Deux expériences missionnaires en Inde aux XVIe et XVIIe siecles," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* (Paris), 87 (July–Sept. 1994).
8. Vincente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), xv. See also Stephen J. Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (New York, London: Rutledge, 1990).
9. Steiner, *After Babel.*
10. Certeau, *La Fable Mystique,* 156–215.
11. *Rice Christians* is a derogatory name for those converts who were purportedly attracted by economic rather than spiritual gains. It was especially applied to Portuguese Catholic converts by the British colonial authors. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India.*
12. Conversion of coastal people in South India (to Islam first then Christianity) became a rule in this period. Throughout the sixteenth century there was a permanent low-intensity war situation on the Fishery Coast where lucrative pearl fishing kept attracting commercial and military predators and invaders. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Die Bekehrung der Paraver (1535–1536)," *AHSI* (Rome) 4 (1935), 201–33. See also Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 286–359.
13. *DI,* 12:716. It was in 1582 that a Jesuit father from the Fishery Coast,

João Rodrigues (Bustamante), was sent to Goa in order to oversee the printing of the *Flos sanctorum*. The printing of the *Flos sanctorum* was completed in Goa in 1586, *Confessionairo* was printed in Cochin (1580), *tampirāṉ vaṇakkam* in Kollam (1578), and *kiricittiyāṉi vaṇakkam* in Cochin (1579). *Arte Malauar* remains in manuscript in BNL, Reservados, MS 3141.

14. Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, *O estudo das línguas exóticas no século XVI* (Lisbon, 1983); and Buescu, *A Galáxia das Línguas na Época da Expansão* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1992).

15. João de Barros, *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa: Cartinha, Gramática, Diálogo em Louvor da Nossa Linguagem e diálogo da Viciosa Vergonha*, edited by Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu (Lisbon, 1971), 401–2.

16. Barros, *Gramática*, 405.

17. He worked in Lisbon as treasurer of the houses of India, Mina, and Ceuta (1525–28) and factor of the India and Guinea houses (1533–67). See Boxer, *João de Barros*.

18. Barros, *Gramática*, 240.

19. Unless they were St. Thomas or Syrian Christians or early converts from the region around Cochin.

20. See Velho, *Roteiro da Primeira Viagem;* and Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend*.

21. Anselmo, *Bibliografia das Obras Impressas*, 117 and 160–92. Galhardo left 117 works during his long professional life (1509 or 1519–61).

22. Fernando Castelo-Branco, "As Cartinhas Quinhentistas e o Humanismo," in *O Humanismo Português* (Lisbon, 1988), 138.

23. Afonso de Albuquerque, *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* [. . .], edited by R. A. Bulhão Pato and H. Lopes de Mendoça (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1844), 1:44–45, in Fernando Castelo-Branco, "As Cartinhas para Ensinar a Ler," in *Boletim bibliográfico e informativo* (Lisbon, 1971), 309.

24. See J. Filliozat, *Un catéchisme tamoul du XVIe siècle en lettres latines* (Pondicherry: EFEO, 1967).

25. *DI*, 1:286–88, Oct. 31, 1548, from Vembar.

26. There is no reason to think, as Donald Lach does, that it was Henriques who invented the system of Tamil transcription used in the *Cartilha*. Jesuits were probably not even consulted by the authors of the *Cartilha* since even the Portuguese original does not correspond to the text made canonical by Xavier. See F. G. Perry Vidal, "São Francisco Xavier: Catecismo Grande," *Brotéria* 22 (Lisbon, 1936); and Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago 1971; 1994), vol. 2, book 3, 495.

27. On problematic relationship between meaning and words present in the common "clothing" topos and Erasmus's argument privileging social context, see Mary Jane Barnett, "Erasmus and the Hermeneutics of Linguistic Praxis," *Renaissance Quarterly* 49 (1996), 542–72.

28. For politics and poetics of a particular mixture of Sanskrit with Tamil (and/or Malayalam, a regional language in Kerala), the Manipravalam, see Rich Freeman, "Rubies and Coral: The Lapidary Crafting of Language in Kerala," *Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 1 (Feb. 1998), 38–65.

29. Disregarding the Tamil text in the middle, the *Cartilha* could have been used as a simple, monolingual Portuguese primer.

30. Jorge Flores introduced the term in order to underscore the close ties developed between Sri Lanka and other islands and the maritime regions at the extreme south of the Indian peninsula. Flores, *Os Portugueses e o Mar do Ceilão.*

31. *EX,* 1:94.

32. *EX,* vol. 1, letter no. 58.

33. Schurhammer and Voretzsch, *Ceylon zur Zeit.*

34. *DI,* 3:336.

35. *EX,* 1:126 and 2:93; *DI,*1:372. During the celebration of Xavier's canonization in Lisbon in 1620, the bell was honored as an important relic. See Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 2:218. A. Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza* (Torino, 1996), 627.

36. The term *method* appears to be often affixed to the titles of the seventeenth-century devotional works. See de Certeau, *The Writing of History,* 196.

37. See Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism,* 65, and his adaptation of Walter Benjamin's "principle of interruption."

38. Barros, *Gramática,* 293–94.

39. See Buescu's footnote in Barros, *Gramática,* 234.

40. *EX,* 1:293.

41. H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1886; reprint, New Delhi, 1986), disagreed with this definition. From Turkish—*topi*—hat, p. 933, Delgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático,* 2:381. Paulinus à Sancto Bartholomaeo or Ivan Filip Vezdin (1748–1806), of Croatian origin, was one of the most important pioneer Sanskrit scholars in addition to being a Carmelite missionary in Kerala.

42. *DI,* 1:287 and 2:158–59 and 381.

43. *EX,* 1:127 and 147.

44. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier,* 1:308–10.

45. *DI,* 1:234.

46. *DI,* 1:276–300.

47. *DI,* 1:298.

48. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 188–92.

49. *DI,* 1:488–89.

50. *DI,* 2:4–6.

51. *DI,* 1:438.

52. *DI,* 2:147.

53. Francisco de Borja Medina, "Ignacio de Loiola y la 'limpieza de sangre,'" in *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo,* edited by J. Plazaola (Bilbao, 1992), 579–615.

54. *DI,* 2:312 and 325.

55. *EX,* 1:346–47.

56. *DI,* 1:285–86.

57. According to Melchior Nunes Barreto (in 1560), Henriques was not only *escrupuloso* but also always doubting everything, indecisive, and inefficient in negotiations. *DI,* 4:516.

58. The manuscript contains no signature. It was identified as Henriques's

grammar by Jeanne H. Hein, "Father Henriques' Grammar of Spoken Tamil" *Indian Church History Review* 11 (1977): 127–57.

59. The manuscript was published by Hans J. Vermeer, *The First European Tamil Grammar* (Heidelberg, 1982), 5, fol. 6v.

60. Maria Leonor Carvalhão in her preface to Barros's *Gramática* does not agree that it was meant to be used as a tool for teaching foreigners, xxiii.

61. *DI,* 1:287 and 6:396.

62. Vermeer, *The First European Tamil Grammar*, 4 and 5v.

63. Kamil V. Zvelebil, *Dravidian Linguistics* (Pondicherry, 1990), 1–15.

64. *DI,* 1:286.

65. *DI,* 1:287.

66. See Nobili's Tamil works. Županov, *Disputed Mission.* Also see S. Arokiasamy, S.J., *Dharma, Hindu and Christian According to Roberto de Nobili* (Rome, 1986).

67. Tiliander, *Christian and Hindu Terminology,* 227–33.

68. *EX,* 1:196.

69. *DI,* 2:305.

70. *DI,* 5:688 and 7:375.

71. *DI,* 3:598.

72. Jesuit linguistic zeal in Brazil was not without problems. Resistance of the young Jesuits to learning Brazilian Indian languages, as detected by Charlotte de Castelnau, is not present, at least not in the same form, in the Indian Jesuit province. See the contribution by both Ines G. Županov and Charlotte de Castelnau to the collective article of the Groupe de recherches sur les missions religieuses ibériques moderne (at École des hautes études en sciences sociales), "Politiques missionnaires sous le pontificat de Paul IV: Un document interne de la Compagnie de Jésus en 1558," in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée,* tome 3 (Rome, 1999), 1:295–310 and 309.

73. *DI,* 10:1006. The printing press arrived in Goa in 1556.

74. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., and G. W. Cottrell, S.J., "The First Printing in Indic characters," in *Orientalia* (Rome and Lisbon, 1963), 321.

75. *DI,* 4:27–28.

76. *DI,* 2:156.

77. *DI,* 2:373–74.

78. *DI,* 2:308.

79. See the Portuguese rendering of an epigram in Tamil celebrating the Cross—*DI,* 12:718.

80. The first stone church was built on the island of Mannar in 1571. Joseph Thekkadath, *History of Christianity in India* (Bangalore, 1982), 166.

81. The same principle of demarcation is present in all four of Henriques's printed texts.

82. Jorge Marcos's catechism *Doutrina Christã* was printed in Braga in 1566 by António Mariz. See Anselmo, *Bibliografia das Obras Impressas*, nos. 469 and 843. For Borja requesting it to be sent to Rome and published, see *DI* 6:522.

83. From Salvador Cortez's letter it is not clear what language was used in the following church and street "performance." *DI,* 10:649. *Tampirāṉ vaṇakkam* is

considered by some authors as almost identical to Xavier's *Small Catechism* in Portuguese.

84. *Doctrina Christam* or *kiricittiyāṉi vaṇakkam* (padre nosso), Bodleian Library, Reading Room, Oriental Department, Oxford, Vet. or Tamm. f. 1, p. 22 (hereafter *kiricittiyāṉi vaṇakkam*).

85. *Kiricittiyāṉi vaṇakkam*, 14.

86. *DI*, 5:14–21.

87. *Kiricittiyāṉi vaṇakkam*, page without numeration.

88. *DI*, 5:677–89 and 7:164–75.

89. *DI*, 7:419 and 557 and 8:510.

90. J. L. Austin's "performatives" belong to this category of linguistic acts. See J. L. Austin, *How We Do Things with Words* (Cambridge, 1962).

91. Michel de Certeau, "Ethno-Graphy: Speech, or the Space of the Other," in Jean de Léry, *The Writing of History*, translated from French (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 210.

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1. Barbosa, *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa;* Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, edited by A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, 2 vols. (London, 1938); Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, 1325–1354*, edited and translated from the Arabic version (by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti) by H. A. R. Gibb and C. F. Beckingham, 4 vols. (to date) (Cambridge and London, 1958–94); and Tomé Pires, *O manuscrito de Lisboa da "Suma Orienteal" de Tomé Pires*, edited by R. M. Loureiro (Macao, 1996).

2. Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time*, 116.

3. Henrique Henriques compared the difference between these two languages to the difference between Spanish and Portuguese.

4. *Old Company* refers to the Society of Jesus from 1540 to 1773.

5. P. Gonçalo de Silveira to P. Diogo Laínez, Goa, Nov. 25, 1559, ARSI, Goa 10, fol. 473r.

6. Pero Luís Bramane to Diogo Laínez, Goa, Nov. 1559, ARSI, Goa 10 II, fols. 418r–19v.

7. Pero Luís Bramane to Diogo Laínez, Goa, Nov. 1559, ARSI, Goa 10 II, fol. 418r.

8. See C. M. de Melo, S.J., *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India* (Lisbon, 1955).

9. *Portas adentro* refers to the "private" space. It is used profusely in the correspondence of the period to indicate private vices, especially sexual relationships with slave girls or concubines kept in one's own house.

10. Pero Luís Bramane to Diogo Laínez, Goa, Nov. 1559, ARSI, Goa 10 II, fol. 419r.

11. Interstitionality is a concept borrowed from Homi Bhabha.

12. Ignatius of Loyola, *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Societatis Iesu Epistolae et Instructiones, Monumenta Ignatiana*, first series. (Matriti, 1907), 6:95.

13. Derek Massarella, "The Jesuits in Japan," in *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia,* edited by Anthony Disney and Emily Booth (New Delhi, 2000), 238. On the embassy of three Japanese princes to Europe, see Judith Brown, "Courtiers and Christians: The First Japanese Emissaries to Europe," *Renaissance Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (winter 1994), 872–905. See also Duarte de Sande, *Diálogo sobre a missão dos embaixadores japoneses à Cúria Romana (*1590), translated from Latin, preface by Américo da Costa Ramalho (Macau, 1996).

14. See Županov, "Drugs, Health, Bodies and Souls."

15. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits,* 61.

16. Precisely because Spain and Portugal contained thousands of "converted" Jews and Muslims, the anxiety about their sincerity persisted and grew in times of political and social crises. On how forced mass conversion in medieval Spain enhanced anxieties about "the enemy from within," see David Nirenberg,"Conversion, Sex, and Segregation: Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 4 (Oct. 2002): 1065–93.

17. Juan de Polanco (for Laínez) to Luís Gonçalves da Câmara, Rome, Dec. 7–17, 1560, ARSI, Hisp. 66, fol. 130r (printed in *DI,* 4:841).

18. Henrique Henriques to Laínez, Mannar, Dec. 29–30, 1562, ARSI, Goa 8 II, fols. 336r–39v.

19. *Cathalogus eorum qui sun*[*t*] *Goae Societatis Iesu, Goa, Dec.,* 1564, ARSI, Goa 24 I, fol. 39r–v; and *Cathalogo dos Padres e Irmãos que residem neste collegio de São Paulo de Goa e nas igrejas que estão à obedientia delle a 2 de Dezembro de 1566,* ARSI, Goa 24 I, fols. 44r–46v.

20. Henrique Henriques to members in Portugal, Punicale, Dec. 24, 1567, ARSI, Goa 8 III, fols. 629r–33v.

21. Diogo do Soveral to members in Lisbon (São Roque), Punicale, Dec. 18, 1569, ARSI, Goa 8 III, fols. 694r–98v.

22. Diogo do Soveral to members in Lisbon (São Roque), Punicale, Dec. 18, 1569, ARSI, Goa 8 III, fols. 694r–98v.

23. Županov, "Prosélytisme et pluralisme religieux."

24. Pero Luís to the members in Tutucurym, Jan. 11, 1572, ARSI, Goa 12 I, fols. 97r–100v.

25. Henrique Henriques to members in Port., Cochin, Jan. 13, 1575, ARSI, Goa 12 I, fols. 248r–53v.

26. Pero Luís to Mercurian, Serra, Dec. 23, 1580, ARSI, Goa 13 I, fols. 39r–40v.

27. In fact there were rarely more than two fathers at the same time in the same mission.

28. Pero Luís to Mercurian, Kollam, Jan. 6, 1580, ARSI, Goa 13 I, fols. 1r–2v.

29. Pero Luís to Acquaviva, Kollam, Jan. 2, 1589, ARSI, Goa 13 II, fols. 421r–22v.

30. J. Samuel Preus, "The Reified Heart in Seventeenth-Century Religion," in *Religion in History: The Word, the Idea, the Reality,* edited by Michel Despland and Gérard Vallée (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 1992), 51.

31. On the emergence of the modern concept of religion and the unstable meanings it has commanded in history, see the articles by Ernst Feil, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, and Michel Despland in *Religion in History.*

32. Will Sweetman, "Unity and Plurality: Hinduism and the Religions of India in Early European Scholarship, *Religion* 31 (2001): 209–24.

33. "These people have one civil way of life, but multiple religion," Roberto Nobili, *Roberto de Nobili on Indian Customs (Navvatio),* Ed. by S. Rajamanickam, (Palayamkottai, 1972) 155.

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